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PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

EDITED BY

MILO M. QUAIFE

SUPERINTENDENT OF THE SOCIETY

WISCONSIN HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY

1916

MEDAL AWARDED TO THE STATE OF WISCONSIN AT THE PANAMA-PACIFIC EXPOSITION

PUBLICATIONS OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF WISCONSIN

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE SOCIETY AT ITS

SIXTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING

HELD OCTOBER 19, 1916

U. C. Public Library

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MADISON, 1917

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Officers, 1916-17

President

Hon. William K. Coffin	Eau Claire

Vice-Presidents

Hon. John Luchsinger	Monroe
Hon. B. F. McMillan	McMillan
Most Rev. S. G. Messmer	Milwaukee
Hon. William J. Starr, LL. B.	Eau Claire
Hon. John B. Winslow, LL. D.	Madison

Superintendent

M. M. Quaife, Ph. D.	Madison

Treasurer

Hon. Lucien S. Hanks	Madison

Curators, Ex Officio

Hon. Emanuel L. Philipp	Governor
Hon. John S. Donald	Secretary of State
Hon. Henry Johnson	Treasurer

Curators, Elective

(Term expires at annual meeting in 1917)

Rasmus B. Anderson, LL. D.
Emil Baensch, Esq.
Charles N. Brown, LL. B.
Harry E. Cole, Ph. B.
Frederic K. Conover, LL. B.
John Luchsinger, Esq.
Most Rev. S. G. Messmer
J. Howard Palmer, Esq.
Barton L. Parker, LL. B.
John B. Parkinson, M. A.
Frederic L. Paxson, Ph. D.
William A. Scott, LL. D.

Officers of the Society, 1916–17

(Term expires at annual meeting in 1918)

Thomas E. Brittingham, Esq.
Henry C. Campbell, Esq.
William K. Coffin, M. S.
Richard T. Ely, LL. D.
Lucien S. Hanks, Esq.
Nils P. Haugen, LL. B.
Col. Hiram Hayes
Rev. Patrick B. Knox
Maj. Frank W. Oakley
Arthur L. Sanborn, LL. B.
E. Ray Stevens, LL. B.
William W. Wight, M. A.

(Term expires at annual meeting in 1919)

Victor Coffin, Ph. D.
Lucius C. Colman, B. A.
Matthew S. Dudgeon, M. A.
Carl R. Fish, Ph. D.
Louis F. Frank, M. D.
Hjalmar R. Holand, M. A.
Benjamin F. McMillan, Esq.
William A. P. Morris, B. A.
Samuel M. Pedrick, LL. B.
Eben D. Pierce, M. D.
Robert G. Siebecker, LL. B.
William J. Starr, LL. B.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The thirty-six Curators, the Superintendent, the Governor, the Secretary of State, and the State Treasurer (forty in all) constitute the Executive Committee.

Standing Committees (of Executive Committee)

Library—Knox (chairman), Brown, Dudgeon, Sanborn, and Superintendent (ex officio).

Art Gallery and Museum—Scott (chairman), Conover, Cole, Oakley, and Superintendent (ex officio).

Printing and Publications—Fish (chairman), Paxson, Wight, Stevens, and Superintendent (ex officio).

Finance—Morris (chairman), Palmer, Steensland, W. K. Coffin, and Brittingham.

Advisory (ex officio)—Knox, Scott, Fish, and Morris.

Special Committees (of the Society)

Relations with State University—Quaife (chairman), Haugen, Aylward,* Siebecker, and Palmer.

Archives—Fish (chairman), Steensland, Brandenburg, and Superintendent (ex officio).

*Died Nov. 12, 1916.

The Library Staff

Superintendent

M. M. Quaife, Ph. D.

Assistant Superintendent

Annie Amelia Nunns, B. A.

In charge of Divisions

(In order of seniority of service)

Mary Stuart Foster, B. L.	—*Reference*
Iva Alice Welsh, B. L.	—*Catalogue*
Louise Phelps Kellogg, Ph. D.	—*Research*
Charles Edward Brown	—*Museum*
Lillian Jane Beecroft, B. L.	—*Newspaper*
Mabel Clare Weaks, M. A.	—*Manuscript*
Anna Wells Evans	—*Public Document*
Ora Ioneene Smith, B. A.	—*Order*

Assistants

(In order of seniority of service)

Edna Couper Adams, B. L.	—*Reference*
Eleanore Eunice Lothrop, B. A.	—*Superintendent's Secretary*
Robert Emmet Berigan	—*Manuscript Repair*
Esther DeBoos, B. A.	—*Reference*
Pauline Merry Buell, B. A.	—*Reference*
Ella Viola Ryan	—*Public Document*
Marjorie Gertrude Park, B. A.	—*Order*
Ferne Lina Congdon, B. A.	—*Manuscript*
Caroline Margaret Lewis, B. A.	—*Reference*
Theron Adelbert Brown	—*Public Document*
Mary Margaret Farley, B. A.	—*Office*
Lydia Marie Brauer, B. A.	—*Research*
Mabel Beatrice Swerig, B. A.	—*Reference*
Alice Whitney, B. S.	—*Museum*
Lyell Vern Deaner	—*Newspaper*
Fanny Elizabeth Atwood, B. A.	—*Reference*
Ruth Pauline Hayward	—*Catalogue*

The Library Staff

Caretakers

(Under State civil service law)

Magnus Nelson . . . —*Head Janitor and Mechanic*
Irving Robson, Martin Lyons, Walter G. Post . . . . —*Assistant Janitors*
Bennie Butts . . . . —*Office Messenger*
Tillie Gunkel . . . . —*Housekeeper*
Barbara Brisbois, Gertrude Nelson, Alice Jenewein, Bertha Schwoegler, Emma Zehnpfennig . . . —*Housemaids*
Fred Kowalski . . . . —*Elevator Attendant*
Lillian Jenewein, Ida Steffen, Thomas H. Goodnight, Armand Quick . —*Cloak Room Attendants*

Library Hours

General Library—Daily, except Saturdays, Sundays, holidays, and University vacations: 7:45 A. M. to 10 P. M.
Saturdays: 7:45 A. M. to 9 P. M.
Holidays and University vacations: as per special announcement.

Department Libraries:
Manuscript, and Newspaper Divisions—Daily, with above exceptions: 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.
Public Document Division—Same hours as the general library except that the closing hour during the summer session of the University is 6 P. M.

Museum—Daily, except Sundays and holidays: 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.
Sundays, holidays, and evenings: as per special announcement.

The Sixty-fourth Annual Meeting[1]

Thursday, October 19, 1916

The business session of the sixty-fourth annual meeting of the State Historical Society was held in the staff room of the State Historical Library Building at Madison, on Thursday afternoon, October 19, 1916, commencing at three-thirty o'clock; an open session was held the same evening in the new assembly room, commencing at eight o'clock. In the afternoon the Executive Committee also held its annual meeting.

BUSINESS SESSION

In the absence of the President and Vice-presidents, Rev. P. B. Knox took the chair at three-thirty o'clock in the afternoon.

Present: Messrs. Charles E. Buell, Harry E. Cole, Frederic K. Conover, Matthew S. Dudgeon, Richard T. Ely, Carl R. Fish, Lucien S. Hanks, Nils P. Haugen, H. R. Holand, P. B. Knox, Edward Kremers, J. H. A. Lacher, William A. P. Morris, John B. Parkinson, Frederic L. Paxson, Arthur L. Sanborn, Walter M. Smith, E. Ray Stevens, William F. Whyte, and William W. Wight—20.

Official Reports

The superintendent, on behalf of the Executive Committee, submitted its annual report, which was adopted. (See Appendix for text.)

[1]The report of the proceedings here published is condensed from the official Ms. records of the Society.

Chairman Morris of the Committee on Finance presented the report of his committee, approving the report of Treasurer L. S. Hanks for the year ending June 30, 1916. The report was adopted. (See Appendix for text.)

Reports of Auxiliaries

Annual reports were received from the Society's several auxiliary societies, and they were ordered printed in the *Proceedings*. (See Appendix for text.)

Curators Elected

Messrs. W. F. Whyte, chairman, C. E. Buell, and Edward Kremers were appointed a committee on the nomination of curators and reported in favor of the following, who were unanimously elected:

For the term ending at the annual meeting in 1919, to succeed John A. Aylward, Victor Coffin, Lucius C. Colman, Matthew S. Dudgeon, Carl R. Fish, Benjamin F. McMillan, William A. P. Morris, Samuel M. Pedrick, Robert G. Siebecker, William J. Starr, Edward B. Steensland, and Charles R. Van Hise:

Lucius C. Colman, of La Crosse; Benjamin F. McMillan, of McMillan; Samuel M. Pedrick, of Ripon; Louis F. Frank, of Milwaukee; H. R. Holand, of Ephraim; Eben D. Pierce, of Trempealeau; William J. Starr, of Eau Claire; Victor Coffin, Matthew S. Dudgeon, Carl R. Fish, William A. P. Morris, and Robert G. Siebecker, of Madison.

The meeting thereupon stood adjourned.

Sixty-Fourth Annual Meeting.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

Thursday, October 19, 1916

The annual meeting of the Executive Committee was held in the staff room in the afternoon, succeeding the Society's meeting.

Rev. P. B. Knox took the chair.

Present: Messrs. Cole, Conover, Dudgeon, Ely, Fish, Hanks, Haugen, Knox, Morris, Parkinson, Paxson, Sanborn, Stevens, and Wight—14.

The superintendent presented a request of Mrs. Emilie Barnes Miller for the oil painting known as the Appian Way, formerly the property of her father, the late Alfred S. Barnes of Brooklyn, New York. Professor Fish moved that the matter be referred to the Finance Committee. The motion was carried.

Committee on Archives

Chairman Fish of the Archives Committee reported that one meeting of this committee had been held during the year; that the superintendent had visited the archives in various states and had examined conditions there; that the committee had adopted the following resolution:

> That there is evident need for additional space in the near future to house the growing collections of the State Historical Society; that there is need, also, for suitable provision for the preservation and administration of the State archives, that the two things should be treated together, and a suitable building provided for the overflow from the present Historical Library building and for housing the archives of the State.

N. P. Haugen moved that the committee be continued and the resolution be adopted as the sense of the curators. The motion was carried.

Advisory Committee

Chairman Knox reported that there had been four meetings of his committee during the year and that

among other things the questions of membership in the Society, of exchanges with other libraries, of continuing the work in the Washington archives, and of repairs upon the Library building had been considered. It was voted that the report of the Advisory Committee as briefly presented by the chairman be accepted and placed on file.

Officers Elected

Messrs. C. R. Fish, chairman, N. P. Haugen, and A. L. Sanborn were appointed a committee on the nomination of officers for the triennial term ending in October, 1919, and reported in favor of the following, who were unanimously elected to the offices named:

President—William K. Coffin, of Eau Claire.

Vice-presidents—John Luchsinger, of Monroe; B. F. McMillan, of McMillan; S. G. Messmer, of Milwaukee; William J. Starr, of Eau Claire; John B. Winslow, of Madison.

Treasurer—Lucien S. Hanks, of Madison.

New Members Elected

Life

Beloit—Fred M. Strong.
Madison—John G. D. Mack, Fredrik T. Thwaites.
Milwaukee—S. L. Stein.
Houghton, Mich.—J. T. Reeder.
Molokai, Hawaii—Joseph Dutton.
Washington, D. C.—John M. Nelson.

Annual

Algoma—John A. Eichinger.
Arcadia—Frank C. Richmond.
Clinton—Henry O. Natesta.
Manitowoc—Helen M. Platt.
Milwaukee—Theodore C. Blegen, Sipko F. Rederus.
Shullsburg—John J. Jamieson.
Trempealeau—Leland S. Sanders.
Whitehall—Ole J. Eggum, Paudor K. Risberg, Archie E. Wood.

Chicago, Ill.—Alonzo L. Kimber.
Glenn Dale, Md.—Rodney H. True.
Louisville, Ky.—Otto A. Rothert.
Pueblo, Colo.—Michael H. Fitch.

The superintendent submitted a communication from Prof. Archer B. Hulbert, chairman of a Division of Historic Highways of the National Highways Association, as follows:

The National Highways Association feeling that something ought to be done to preserve the historic names of our American highways asked the coöperation of the American Historical Association in an effort toward this end.

The latter Association appointed me a committee of one to aid in a coöperative plan to investigate the matter. I was later appointed chairman of a Division of Historic Highways of the National Highways Association. Several gentlemen of national prominence, interested in this work, have agreed to act as members of this Division.

The plan is now to circularize the various state Historical Societies and propose that they, in each state, appoint a committee of five to take up this matter within each commonwealth. Before preparing this circular I would like to get an expression from as many societies as possible as to their probable attitude toward this question.

It is believed that if an effort to save the old historic names is made at once a good deal could be accomplished. It was suggested at the Nashville meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association that in many States statutes might be passed to place in the hands of the Historical Societies the right to name the roads of a state.

Would your society be interested in this work? Have you local conditions that are exceptional? Any advice or suggestions made unofficially or otherwise would be very gladly received.

M. S. Dudgeon moved that a committee of five be appointed in accordance with the terms of the letter. This motion was amended by Professor Paxson that it be referred to the Advisory Committee, which is composed of five members. Mr. Dudgeon accepted the amendment, which was adopted.

The meeting thereupon stood adjourned.

OPEN SESSION

The open session of the Society was held in the Museum assembly room commencing at 8:15 P. M., with Vice-President Winslow in the chair.

The following papers were presented by title and ordered to be printed in the *Proceedings* for the year:

New Light on the Career of Nathaniel Pryor, by Prof. Joseph B. Thoburn, of Norman, Oklahoma.

Reminiscences of a Pioneer Missionary, by Rev. Chrysostom Verwyst, of Bayfield.

The Beginnings of the Norwegian Press in America, by Albert O. Barton, of Madison.

The Dream of a Northwestern Confederacy, by William C. Cochran, of Cincinnati, Ohio.

Mary Elizabeth Mears: "Nellie Wildwood," by Publius V. Lawson, of Menasha.

The Watertown Railway Bond Fight, by William F. Whyte, M. D., of Madison.

Brevet Major Isaac N. Earl: A Noted Scout of the Department of the Gulf, by Newton H. Culver, of Soldiers Home, California.

The chairman then presented the speaker of the evening, Capt. Arthur L. Conger, instructor in the Army Service Schools, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, who delivered an address on "President Lincoln as War Statesman." (See Appendix for text.)

At the conclusion of Captain Conger's address an informal reception was tendered by the Society's staff to those in attendance upon the meeting. Punch was served by the ladies, and an opportunity for social intercourse, and for viewing the Museum collections, was afforded.

Appendix

Executive Committee's Report

(Submitted to the Society at the sixty-fourth annual meeting, October 19, 1916.)

In accordance with established custom the financial sections of this report pertain to the fiscal year of the Society ending June 30, 1916; in other respects the report deals with the Society's activities during the year ending September 30, 1916. All life is a process of change, and only death is static. The Society is a living institution. Much, therefore, of change, and something, it is believed, of progress are recorded in the report upon the year's activities which is now submitted to the Society.

I. SOME GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

In Memoriam

The hand of death has fallen heavily upon the Society during the past year, depriving it of no less than twelve life members and five annual members. Four of those who have thus gone from us, Gen. B. F. Cram, Clarence Kellogg, Judge Henry M. Lewis, and James R. Stuart, have been members of the Society for upwards of thirty years. Three others, Arthur K. Camp, George H. Noyes, and John C. Ludwig, have been members for many years. The complete list of members deceased during the year follows:

Life

Lew W. Anderson, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, September 21, 1915
Edward P. Bacon, Milwaukee, February 26, 1916
Charles H. Conover, Chicago, November 4, 1915
Gen. Benjamin F. Cram, Madison, August 3, 1916
James J. Hill, St. Paul, Minnesota, May 29, 1916
Samuel Y. Hyde, La Crosse, March 9, 1916
Clarence Kellogg, Madison, October 14, 1915
Henry M. Lewis, Madison, December 26, 1915
Torgrim Olson, Madison, November 30, 1915
James R. Stuart, Madison, December 23, 1915
William H. Timlin, Milwaukee, August 21, 1916
Wilber W. Warner, Madison, April 11, 1916

Annual

Arthur K. Camp, Milwaukee, February 22, 1916
Maj. Joseph L. Horr, Chicago
Robert Kelly, Superior, January 6, 1916
John C. Ludwig, Milwaukee, September 3, 1916
George H. Noyes, Milwaukee, January 9, 1916

Membership

To offset the loss by death and, in part, the lapse of membership for other reasons, the Society has gained five new life and fifteen new annual members. Gratifying as this accession of new members is, it still remains true that the membership of the Society should be much larger than it is at present. The Buffalo Historical Society, with a much more limited constituency, with annual membership dues three times as large as ours, and with about one-third the annual output of publications, has a membership almost equal to that of our Society. Members of the Pennsylvania Historical Society pay annually two and one-half times the dues paid by our own members and the Society publishes much less than does our own; yet it has over 2,000 members, approximately three times the number belonging to our Society. It may readily be

conceded that established society in Wisconsin is still too immature to permit of fair comparison with such older communities as Buffalo and Philadelphia; yet with all due allowance for the difference in this respect, the fact still remains that the citizens of Wisconsin have never, individually, come to the support of their historical society as they should.

Publicity

A clever reporter for one of the great Chicago dailies recently featured the career of George Rogers Clark; in doing so he broadly charged that the people of the West, historians and laymen alike, were ignorant of Clark's career and deeds. The historians might reasonably plead that they knew something of Clark long before the reporter discovered him, yet the general charge contains a kernel of truth of much importance to this Society. While it has long enjoyed widespread fame among practical historical workers, it is undoubtedly true that a large proportion of the citizens of Wisconsin are uninformed concerning its work and even unaware of its existence. An endowed institution or one supported by private generosity need not concern itself about the question of publicity. To one which is dependent for its daily upkeep upon taxation, self-imposed by the people, however, the problem of publicity is of vital importance; for the legislature will not long continue to make appropriations for the support of an institution which is not firmly grounded in popular esteem. During the régime of the late Superintendent of the Society his personality and widespread repute in themselves insured a sufficient measure of publicity for the Society. Deprived of this asset, resort must be had to other measures. The *Wisconsin History Bulletin*, now in its third year of publication by the Society, was initiated chiefly with a view to disseminating widely correct and timely information

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S BOOTH AT THE WISCONSIN STATE FAIR

along historical lines; incidentally, however, it was hoped that the service thus rendered would assist in keeping the public informed concerning the work of the Society. Going out monthly to over 300 editors, who clip and reprint largely its contents, the *Bulletin* seems to be realizing the objects of its installation.

This year, for the first time, the Society made an exhibit at the State Fair at Milwaukee. As with the *History Bulletin*, the twofold desire of affording instruction to the public and attracting attention to the work of the Society was responsible for this step. A booth twelve by twenty feet in size was comfortably filled with the material selected for exhibition. The booth was thronged with visitors a large portion of the week and from every point of view the exhibition was a great success. Its repetition annually would seem to be a wise measure.

In these and other ways not noted here efforts are being made to solve the problem of publicity. Whether a competent expert in the field should be engaged to survey and report upon this phase of the Society's work is a fair question for the curators to consider.

Coöperation with other Societies and Organizations

A policy of enlightened liberality has from the beginning distinguished the administration of the Society. It subscribes to the gospel of service, fully believing that the surest way to increase its talents is by encouraging the broadest possible use of them; and that the storehouse of historical treasures committed to its custody constitutes a public trust to be administered as wisely as may be for the benefit of all who may be interested in them. Probably the greatest service of the late Superintendent was as a missionary of the cause of history to a section largely engrossed in materialism and the pursuit of commercial ends. At the present time the administration endeavors to coöperate in every way feasible with other institutions

for the promotion of such interests as it may hold in common with them. A statement here concerning some of the work now being carried on along this line seems in order.

In common with a number of other institutions and individuals the Society assists in the publication of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* by contributing to the maintenance fund required for subsidizing this journal. In like fashion it assists in making possible the publication of the annual bibliography of *Writings on American History*. During the last year, too, it has donated the labor, by no means light, of editing the annual volume of *Proceedings* of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. More significant than these things our Society has shared from the beginning in what is probably the most noteworthy coöperative enterprise being conducted by associated historical organizations in America at the present time. A little over two years ago the directors of the state historical departments of a number of middle-western states began the practice of holding periodical conferences with a view to coördinating in so far as might prove practicable the activities of the departments of the several states represented. Out of these conferences has proceeded the coöperative enterprise for the searching of the Washington archives described in last year's report and elsewhere in the present one. The value and economy of such coöperation admits of no question, and incidentally the interchange of ideas and opinions at the periodical conferences is productive of much benefit to the department heads concerned. At the same time the opinion may be ventured that the future will disclose that the most valuable result of the work under discussion will have been the practical demonstration of the possibility of the historical departments of different states pooling their influence and their re-

sources for the prosecution of work of common interest and advantage to them all.

Mere mention at this place of notable work being done by the Society in two other directions will suffice. Our plan of affiliation and coöperation with local historical societies in Wisconsin has long afforded a model for other states. Our plan of close coöperation with the State University likewise has long afforded a model which, unfortunately for them, most other states have neglected to imitate. How fortunate we are with respect to this matter is at least partially suggested by a report made at the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in January, 1915 by the chairman of the committee upon the relations between state historical societies and state universities. The report stated that commonly the relations existing between the two classes of institutions were similar to those between two game cocks in the ring. If ever such a situation existed in Wisconsin it is so far removed from the present time that it is not entirely easy to realize that the close harmony and active coöperation existing between our Society and the State University is still the exceptional thing rather than the general rule throughout the country. Taking to ourselves such comfort as we may for what has already been accomplished in this respect, it is pertinent to point out that much more is possible of achievement in the way of practical coöperation. For concrete suggestions reference is made to the section of this report dealing with the Historical Museum. In view of the work there described as already being done by this division and of the ideals of the chief of the Museum for further development, it seems pertinent to suggest that the University, which profits so largely by the work, may not unreasonably be expected to assist in financing its further development.

Precisely this thing in connection with another enterprise in which our Society is coöperating, the regents of the University have undertaken to do during the coming year. For several years the Society has extended to the Madison Art Association the privilege of holding its exhibitions in the Museum, more recently in the Society's auditorium, a room excellently adapted for such displays. Particularly during the past year have these exhibitions become frequent, and the Society has undertaken to make possible a more general patronage of them by opening the Museum monthly on Sunday afternoon whenever special art exhibits are being held. In order to make these exhibitions more valuable to the attending public, on a number of occasions during the past year members of the University faculty and others qualified to do so have kindly donated their services as special lecturers on the subject of the current exhibits. It is obvious that oftentimes no one in Madison is specially qualified to lecture on a particular display and that to bring such a person from a distance involves some expense. Upon a representation of this situation to the authorities of the University it was agreed by them to devote $500 during the coming year to supplying the need in question. If the results should seem to justify its continuance it is expected that the appropriation will be renewed in succeeding years. With the new development the local Art Association, the University, and the Historical Society will be coöperating to the end of affording at the capital of the State as broad an opportunity as possible for the cultivation and development by the public of artistic tastes and interests. Provision for unity of aim and understanding as between the Art Association and the Society has been made by the election of the Society's superintendent and the chief of the Museum to the governing board of the Art Association.

Even closer than with the University are the Society's relations with the Wisconsin Archeological Society. For several years the secretary of this organization has been employed by the Society to administer its Museum. Thus, although the two societies are organically distinct, in practice the closest possible coöperation and coördination of activities exists between them.

Indication of the relationship which for some years has been cultivated between the Society and the pharmacists of the State is afforded by the following resolution adopted at the last annual convention of the Wisconsin Pharmaceutical Association, and communicated by its secretary to the superintendent of this Society on August 3, 1916:

Resolved, That the Secretary and Superintendent of the Wisconsin Historical Society be thanked for the interest which he has already shown in the recognition of matters pertaining to the history of Pharmacy and that we as a state organization promise him our hearty support in furthering the interests in the history of our state.

More gratifying than any of the foregoing, because more unusual and unexpected, is a development of the year with reference to the Society's work of calendaring the Draper Collection of manuscripts. This work has been carried on slowly for several years, approximately half the time of one assistant having been devoted to it since the present superintendent's incumbency. Thus far an initial volume, calendaring the Preston and the Virginia series has been published, and copy for a second volume, devoted to the Kentucky series, is approaching completion. Because of its great interest in seeing the portion of the Draper Collection pertaining to Kentucky calendared more rapidly than the means at the disposal of this Society permit, the Filson Club of Louisville has come forward with the offer to pay the salary, for an estimated period of two years, of an additional worker whose time shall be

devoted to the calendaring of the George Rogers Clark series. The only condition attached to this generous offer is that the Filson Club be supplied with a typewritten copy of the calendar thus made. Since, however, the Society has long been engaged upon the work with a view to publishing calendars of the Draper Collection as rapidly as practicable, it will as a matter of course publish the calendar the making of which the Filson Club is to assist in financing. This act of enlightened generosity on the part of the Filson Club may well constitute a twofold source of gratification to the Society, in that it provides financial assistance to the estimated extent of upwards of $2,000 for the prosecution of one branch of the Society's work, and that it affords a striking and unsolicited testimonial to the esteem in which our work is held by competent authorities in a distant state.

II. FINANCIAL STATEMENT

State Appropriations

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916 the Society received from the State $58,980 in direct standing appropriations made under section 172.28 of the statutes. Of this sum $50,000 was granted under subsection 1 for administrative and operating expenses; $780 under subsection 3, for property repairs; and $8,200 under subsection 4, for books, furniture, and permanent accessions.

The following statement shows the condition of these funds on July 1, 1916:

Subsection 1

Receipts

Unexpended balance in State treasury, July 1, 1915	$11,034.46
State appropriation for year ending June 30, 1916	50,000.00
From University of Wisconsin, balance due on joint account	2,947.90
Total	$63,982.36

DISBURSEMENTS

Services	$41,654.51	
Traveling expenses	510.22	
Supplies	2,045.74	
Printing and illustration	6,433.72	
Stationery	2.30	
Postage	380.00	
Telegraph	1.50	
Freight and drayage	130.05	
Express	217.24	
Books, furniture, etc.	1,854.55	
Property Repairs	206.35	
Insurance	3,190.80	
		$56,632.98
Unexpended balance in State treasury, July 1, 1916		7,349.38
		$63,982.36

SUBSECTION 3

RECEIPTS

State appropriation for year ending June 30, 1916	$780.00

DISBURSEMENTS

Property repairs	250.88
Unexpended balance in State treasury, July 1, 1916	529.12
	780.00

SUBSECTION 4

RECEIPTS

State appropriation for year ending June 30, 1916	$8,200.00

DISBURSEMENTS

Books, periodicals, furniture, and Museum exhibits	$6,390.21	
Binding	1,809.79	8,200.00

Comparison with the preceding annual report will show that the year's appropriation for books and permanent accessions remains the same, that for property repairs has been increased $580, and that for general administration and operating expenses has been decreased $4,353. By drawing upon the private funds of the Society and by utilizing the balance available from the appropriation of the preceding year it has been possible thus far to meet the legislative decrease in our income without materially reducing the activities of the Society. The balance in question will have been used up during the current biennium, however, and the private funds of the Society should not be used indefinitely to pay the salaries of regular employees of the State; so that the action of the coming legislature will determine whether or not the Society's present activities are to be curtailed by a partial abandonment of the work now being done. To continue that work after the present year a return by the legislature to substantially the same sum formerly appropriated for the Society's support will be necessary.

In the conferences held by the representative of the Society with the Board of Public Affairs and the Joint Finance Committee of the legislature at the time the Society's appropriation for the current biennium was under discussion, considerable pains were taken to make clear the growing inadequacy of the book appropriation. In view of the political situation which then prevailed it is not strange, perhaps, that the legislature should ignore the reasons set forth for a needed increase in this appropriation. Yet the facts on which they were based still exist, and the book-purchasing power of our appropriation, which as explained in the preceding annual report is practically the same as it was a dozen years ago, steadily diminishes as the price of paper and of other items enter-

ing into the production of books continues to mount. Stated in a nutshell, the Library has practically the same amount of money to devote to the purchase of books as it had a dozen years ago, but it is not purchasing as many books because of a rise in prices in that time of anywhere from 25 to 50 per cent; while to make the situation worse, the Library's more immediate constituency from which the bulk of the demands upon it come has doubled in size in the period in question. For the coming biennium an annual appropriation of $10,000 for books, furniture, and binding, instead of $8,200 as at present, has been asked; not that even this increase will be adequate, but on the theory that half a loaf is better than none.

Private Funds

Accounts of the origin and purposes of the various permanent funds of the Society may be found in previous annual reports. The condition of the several funds at the close of the fiscal year, June 30, 1916, together with a comparison with the condition at the close of the preceding year, may be seen in the tabular statement which follows:

Fund	1914–15	Increase	1915–16
General and Binding	$39,322.27	$731.94	$40,054.21
Antiquarian	19,964.79	869.01	20,834.78
Draper	12,732.36	212.86	12,945.22
Adams	5,429.04	220.24	5,649.28
Sheldon	1,737.97	72.11	1,810.08
Hollister	11,497.61	2,495.75	13,993.36
Thwaites	10,264.14	288.17	10,552.31
Special Book	1,215.71		1,215.71
House	519.49	25.45	544.94
Thwaites Portrait		100.00	100.00

Some comment upon the tabular statement is necessary in order that the situation may be entirely clear with

respect to the Society's private funds. Only the first seven, in the order listed above, are regarded as permanent funds of the Society. The Special Book Fund and the Emily House Bequest were given to the Society for the accomplishment of certain specified purposes. Whenever the opportunity to realize these shall arise the funds will be spent, and thereafter will disappear from the annual financial statement. The Thwaites Portrait Fund exists merely as a matter of bookkeeping for the year. The committee appointed by the Society to procure the portrait was directed to receive such subscriptions as might be offered, with authority to draw upon the Society's treasury for any balance needed to make up the sum which the Committee might think proper to spend. Accordingly the picture was procured, about half of its cost being paid by voluntary subscription and the remainder being taken from the treasury. Afterwards $100 additional were subscribed by friends for the purchase of the portrait. This sum will of course be replaced in the treasury, but as a matter of bookkeeping it makes its appearance in the treasurer's statement for the year.

Concerning the permanent funds, it should be noted that the increase shown would have been materially larger had it not been deemed advisable to supplement the reduced State appropriation by paying the salaries of certain members of the Library staff from the income of private funds. Reference to the detailed report of the treasurer of the Society will show just how much was spent in this way. Reference to this report will show, also, that the General and Binding Fund income is credited with $50 received from M. M. Quaife. This also is to be explained as merely a matter of bookkeeping; the money in question was sent to Washington to make payment for materials to be purchased there, and then, not

being used for this purpose, was returned to the treasurer by the superintendent.

The Hollister estate, under process of administration for several years, has at length been settled, and the final proceeds accruing to this Society are in the treasurer's hands. Since, however, the final payment was made to him after July 1, 1916, it will not appear in his annual report until next year. Concerning both the Hollister Pharmaceutical Fund and the Thwaites Fund it should be noted that a portion of the amount shown in the present report represents interest which is liable to expenditure as the occasion arises. Later reports may show, therefore, a seeming diminution in either or both of these funds. If this should be the case the explanation will already have been supplied.

No direct gifts of money have been made to the Society during the year, although the Filson Club's offer, described in another connection, virtually amounts to a contribution of upwards of $2,000. This subject will be considered more fully in a later section of this report. Here it will be sufficient to remind those who are interested in the study of American history and in the progress of the Society that its record of usefulness and of efficient administration fairly challenges recognition at their hands.

III. THE LIBRARY

The Staff

Changes in the Library staff have been numerous. Annie A. Nunns, assistant superintendent, was on leave of absence from January to June, 1916, Anna Jacobsen, for many years an efficient member of the cataloguing staff, was granted a year's leave of absence in March in order to avail herself for this period of time of an oppor-

tunity to work in the Library of Congress. Frederick Merk of the research staff began upon a year's leave in September, 1916, in order to continue his graduate study at Harvard University. Helen Gilman of the Museum staff and Josephine Allyn of the reference division resigned their positions to enter upon the permanent vocation of matrimony; other resignations are those of Kate Tillett of the reference division and John Kaether of the newspaper division.

New employees added to the permanent library staff during the year include Fannie Elizabeth Atwood and Mabel Beatrice Swerig in the reference division, Alice Whitney, Museum staff, and Lyell Deaner in the newspaper division. Temporary employees for shorter or longer periods have been John Loomis, Henry Loomis, and Leone Hamilton. Dr. N. D. Mereness still continues to direct the Society's work among the Washington archives. He has had, during the year, the clerical help of several different assistants.

The caretakers' staff has remained in recent years much more permanent than that of the Library. S. D. Stephens, the night cloak room attendant, resigned because of graduation from the University, and his place has been taken by Armand Quick, while Alice Jenewein has replaced her sister, Louise, as housemaid. Aside from these changes the staff remains the same as for the preceding year.

The Building and Grounds

The last legislature responded to the superintendent's appeal for a larger fund for property maintenance by increasing the annual appropriation for repairs from $200 to $780. During the year, at the superintendent's request, the State architect made a personal examination

of the Library building with a view to reporting upon its condition with respect to safety from possible destruction by fire. He made a number of recommendations as to changes which in his opinion should be made, the whole number involving the expenditure of a far greater amount than the legislative appropriation renders possible. The most feasible improvement recommended seemed to be the putting of the electric wiring in the basement into metal conduits. This work was done for the Society by the University force of electricians, thus insuring the maximum efficiency at the minimum expense. It has now been completed at a total cost of $613.59. Another expenditure of some magnitude, designed to insure a greater degree of safety to the patrons of the Library, has been the equipping of the elevator with the latest and most efficient type of automatic safety locks. The cost of this installation was $150. For the current year several hundred dollars are available for the continuation of the work of bringing the building into a suitable state of repair. In this connection it is pertinent to point out that certain features of work pertaining to the original construction of the building still remain undone. For example the walls still await tinting over a large portion of the main building, a decade and a half after its construction and occupation. It would seem that the great state of Wisconsin might properly provide the money needed for this work before the lapse of many more years.

The Growth of the Library

Statistics of Accession

The following summary of Library accessions for the year ending September 30, 1916, excludes from consideration, as heretofore, the manuscript division.

Books by purchase (including exchanges)	1,723	
Books by gift	2,945	
Total books		4,668
Pamphlets by purchase (including exchanges)	527	
Pamphlets by gift	6,141	
Pamphlets made from newspaper clippings	400	
Total pamphlets		7,068
Bound volumes of newspapers by purchase	396	
Bound volumes of newspapers by gift	424	
Bound volumes of newspapers by exchange	5	
Total newspaper volumes		825
Engravings, photographs, and maps by purchase (including exchanges)	298	
Engravings, photographs, and maps by gift	316	
Total engravings, photographs, and maps		614
Total accessions of titles		13,175
Present (estimated) strength of the Library:		
Books and newspapers		196,540
Pamphlets		202,609
Total number of titles (books, pamphlets, and newspapers)		399,149

Comparative statistics for 1915 and 1916

	1915	1916
Total accessions	12,000	13,175
Percentage of gifts in accessions	70	70
Percentage of purchases (including exchanges) in accessions	30	30
Books by gift	6,360	4,818
Pamphlets by gift	6,140	8,952
Engravings, photographs, and maps by gift	493	333
Newspapers by gift		424
Total by gift (including duplicates, which are not accessioned)	12,993	14,527
Percentage of gifts that were duplicates	38	32
Percentage of gifts that were accessions	62	68

The present inadequacy of the book appropriation has been dwelt upon in the financial section of this report. In the sixteen years, beginning with 1901, during which the Library has occupied its present building 52,771

books and pamphlets have been purchased, an average of 3,133 per year. For the first eight years, however, 1901–8 inclusive, the average annual purchases amounted to 3,402 titles, while for the last eight years, 1909–16 inclusive, they totaled 3,194 per year. A number of factors enter into the determination of the number of books which may be purchased in any given year, and a decrease of 200 titles in a library the size of ours would not of itself be a matter of any great importance. Nevertheless, the fact that in the face of a markedly increased constituency and increased demands the book-purchasing power of the Library has not simply been at a standstill over a considerable term of years, but has actually diminished, is a cause for genuine concern to the friends of the Society.

Turning from the consideration of quantity to that of quality, two of the year's accessions are of unusual rarity and interest. Both of them, it may be remarked incidentally, are pamphlets, according to the scheme of classification which prevails in our Library, yet the possession of either confers more of distinction upon it than would the acquisition of a large number of ordinary volumes. One of the two pamphlets is a first edition of the famous *Tryal* of John Peter Zenger, published in New York in 1736. For years but two copies of this rare pamphlet were known to be in existence, one in the New York City Public Library, the other in the New York State Library at Albany. The discovery and acquisition by our Society of another copy should be a matter of considerable interest to bibliophiles.

The other pamphlet referred to, equally rare, possesses a more particular local interest. It is a copy, so far as known the only complete one still in existence, of Ole Nattestad's pamphlet, published in Norway in 1839,

describing for the benefit of his fellow countrymen his journey to the United States and his impressions concerning the new country. The publication of this pamphlet exercised an important influence upon the beginnings of Norwegian immigration to this country, and upon the making of Wisconsin, within a few years, the chief center of Norwegian influence in America. It was presented to the Society by Henry O. Natesta of Clinton at the suggestion of H. L. Skavlem, one of our most active members.

Newspaper Division

On October 1, 1916 the newspaper collection contained 24,550 bound volumes. This statement does not represent the full strength of the collection, however, since it contains many incomplete volumes which await binding because one or more numbers are missing. The total number of volumes listed may be classified as follows: Wisconsin newspapers, 7,884 vols.; non-Wisconsin newspapers, 8,465 vols.; Labor news and trade journals, 2,692 vols.; miscellaneous (such as *Harper's Weekly*, the *Independent*, etc.) 4,603 vols.; Indexes to London *Times*, New York *Times*, and New York *Tribune*, 407 vols.; rare files kept in locked cases, 313 vols.; in the bindery and thus impractical to classify, 186 vols. The year's increase in bound volumes was 825; of these 396 were secured by purchase, 424 by gift, and 5 by exchange. In the last ten years 9,024 bound volumes have been added to the collection, an average of about 900 per year. It is interesting to note that the two years of greatest growth in this division in the history of the Library were 1907 and 1908, the acquisitions for this period totaling 2,490 volumes.

For some time the need has been felt for an absolutely definite checklist of the older files of papers in the Society's collection. A beginning of such a compilation has

been made by the employment on this work throughout the summer, and on part-time basis throughout the remainder of the year, of a special library assistant. When this check list is completed it will be possible to say instantly and certainly, when the occasion shall arise, exactly what issues of any file of earlier date than 1820 are to be found in the Library. In this connection attention may properly be called to the exhaustive checklist of newspapers published in America prior to 1820 which is now in course of preparation by the secretary of the American Antiquarian Society. Several installments have already been published in the *Proceedings* of that Society, and it is the plan, upon completion, to reissue the checklist as a whole in one or more volumes. For the execution of this splendid enterprise all students of the social sciences in America are placed under a heavy debt of obligation to the American Antiquarian Society and its secretary, Mr. Brigham. Members and friends of the Wisconsin Historical Society may congratulate themselves on the prominent showing which its collection of older newspapers makes; this, notwithstanding the fact that the chief strength of our collection lies in a field more recent than even the closing year of the period covered by the present checklist.

On January 1, 1916 the Library was receiving for preservation 309 Wisconsin and 170 non-Wisconsin newspapers, and 105 trade journals and other special periodicals. An effort has been made during the year to make the Society's collection more broadly representative both for Wisconsin and for the remainder of the Union. With respect to the former there was but little to do; however, the total list of newspapers published in the State was carefully scanned with a view to determining whether any not already being received might profitably be added to

our list. As a result, half a dozen new journals representing either special interests or new localities are now being taken. The room for improvement with respect to non-Wisconsin newspapers was materially greater. Although this Society has long collected United States newspapers more comprehensively than any other institution except the Library of Congress, no effort had ever been made to cover systematically the country as a whole. A fair beginning looking to this end has now been made. To the extent that the funds available permit the effort will be continued in the near future. As the matter now stands, leaving out of consideration the scores of journals representative of religious, industrial, and other special interests, the Society is receiving and preserving leading daily papers from the following non-Wisconsin cities: Boston, Springfield (Massachusetts), New York, Buffalo, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Washington, Detroit, Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Paul, St. Louis, Kansas City, Omaha, Louisville, Atlanta, Birmingham, Montgomery, Charleston, New Orleans, Nashville, Raleigh, Denver, Salt Lake City (semi-weekly), Portland (Oregon), Seattle, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Santa Fe. It remains to add to our list representative newspapers from certain states not yet covered, and to cultivate more intensively our own middle-western field. The rate of progress which shall be made in these directions depends wholly upon the adequacy of the means placed at the Society's disposal by the State.

Meanwhile, as an indirect consequence of the Great War, an unexpected menace to the Society's newspaper collection has presented itself. The Wisconsin papers and the great majority of those from other states have been from time immemorial presented to the Society by the publishers. The unprecedented cost of print paper in

recent months has led publishers to scrutinize their free list with great care, and in some cases it has been altogether cut off. Thus far but an insignificant number of publishers have dropped the Society from their mailing list. Should the tendency become general, however, either the fund devoted to the purchase of books and newspapers must be materially increased or else the upkeep of the Society's great newspaper collection will suffer a serious blow.

Aside from the building up of current files the long-established policy of the Society of purchasing early newspapers, as opportunity offers, has been steadily continued. A special journey was made to Charleston to examine a file of papers of that city, covering, with intermissions, a period of over a century, offered for sale by the Charleston Chamber of Commerce. Examination disclosed the fact that about 60 per cent of the file is already contained in the Society's collection. In view of this handicap no serious effort was made to bid it in, and it went, according to later information, to the University of Texas. No other extended files were offered during the year and consequently none has been acquired. Nevertheless almost 100 volumes (most of them itemized below) of shorter early files were procured by gift or purchase.

Of these the most interesting locally is the complete file of the *Argus*, Racine's first newspaper, presented by the heirs of Lorenzo Janes, one of the founders of the paper. Established in the spring of 1838, the press was removed to Madison six months later and used in starting the *Enquirer*, the first journal to be published at the capital city. Of the eighteen numbers of the *Argus* issued at Racine the Society had acquired twelve during the past sixty-five years. Now the welcome gift by the children of the pioneer editor enables us for the first time to

put at the disposal of students a complete file of this rare paper.

Another interesting local file, the gift of Miss A. B. Rockwell of Oconomowoc, consists of seventy-six numbers of the *Free Press*, Oconomowoc's first newspaper, for the years 1858–60. Founded in 1858, the *Free Press* was discontinued in 1862 when its publisher enlisted in the Union army. The Society already possesses the file for the years 1861 and 1862. With the recent accession we now have a practically complete file of the paper except for the last six months of the year 1860.

By far the most unique and valuable acquisition during the year is a file of the New York *Weekly Journal* for the period 1733–36. The *Journal* was published by John Peter Zenger whose great fight for the establishment of the liberty of the press in America has already been mentioned. But four other institutions in the country, two located in New York City, one in Worcester, and one in Philadelphia, possess files of this important colonial paper. The acquisition of one by this Society affords twofold ground for satisfaction in that it strengthens our collection in the earlier field where it is relatively weak, and brings to Madison the only file to be found west of Philadelphia of one of the most interesting of colonial newspapers.

The following list includes the more significant acquisitions of papers, other than current, during the year. While not notable from the viewpoint of the number of volumes contained in it, it is worthy of note that the proportion of eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century files acquired is unusually large:

Boston *News-Letter*, 4 vols. (photostat copies), 1704–14.
Savannah *Georgia Gazette*, 6 vols. (photostat copies), 1763–70.
Bridgeton (N. J.) *Plaindealer*, 1 vol., 1775–76.

Boston *Independent Chronicle*, 1 vol., 1777.
——— *Independent Chronicle*, 88 issues, 1776–79.
Providence *Gazette*, 27 issues, 1783–99.
Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser, 1 vol., 1787.
Salem *Gazette*, 35 issues, 1791–99.
Annapolis *Gazette*, 18 issues, 1791–92.
Boston *American Apollo*, 13 issues, 1792.
——— *Massachusetts Mercury*, 50 issues, 1794–99.
——— *Advertiser*, 10 issues, 1796.
Walpole *Weekly Museum*, 1 vol., 1797.
Portsmouth (N. H.) *Oracle of the Day*, 17 issues, 1800.
Bedford (Pa.) *Democratic Enquirer*, 1 vol., 1827–31.
Richmond (Va.) *Constitutional Whig*, 2 vols., 1827–30.
London *Atlas*, 4 vols., 1829–33.
Boston *Pearl*, 1 vol., 1834–35.
Racine *Argus*, 1 vol., 1838.
Philadelphia *Brown's Literary Omnibus*, 1 vol., 1838.
Flemingsburg (Ky.) *Kentuckian*, 1 vol., 1840–41.
Bedford (Pa.) *Inquirer*, 1 vol., 1842–46.
Boston *Cultivator*, 1 vol., 1847–48.
Portland *Transcript*, 2 vols., 1859–62.
New York *Vanity Fair*, 2 vols., 1860.
Alma (Wis.) *Buffalo County Journal*, 1 vol., 1861–64.
Richmond *Dispatch*, 79 issues, 1862.
——— *Whig*, 166 issues, 1862–63.
Philadelphia *Daily Age*, 5 vols., 1863–65.
Colusa (Cal.) *Sun*, 1 vol., 1863–65.
Cincinnati *West and South*, 1 vol., 1867–68.
Chicago *Advance*, 5 vols., 1867–72.
Fitchburg (Mass.) *Daily Sentinel*, 1 vol., 1873–74.
Harrisburg (Va.) *Rockingham Register*, 3 vols., 1878–89.
Washington *National View*, 1 vol., 1880–81.
Richmond *Times*, 3 vols., 1893–94.
Syracuse *International Hod Carriers' Journal*, 2 vols., 1906–7.
Spokane *Spokesman-Review*, 14 vols., 1908–15.
Denver *Harpoon*, 1 vol., 1909–16.
Chicago *Western Underwriter*, 2 vols., 1910–11.
Topeka *State Journal*, 12 vols., 1913–15.

Public Document Division

No important changes have been made in the arrangement of the books in this division during the year. The

location of the classes as provided for at the time of moving upon the completion of the new book-stack wing in 1914 has proved satisfactory. All classes of documents, except the British patents stored in the basement, are easily accessible to students.

The work of cataloguing the collected documents of the various states has been completed, making available much valuable historical material. As time permits from the cataloguing of the current documents, the journals of the several state legislatures are being catalogued. This work moves slowly on account of the great mass of current documents received, and the fact that there is but one cataloguer in the department at present. Better progress will probably be made during the coming year, as another assistant, coming to the division for the noon period, will attend to some of the current cataloguing, leaving more time for the regular cataloguer to devote to special work.

The rapid growth in accessions in this division and its increased use by the students and public makes it very apparent that the time is not far distant when the question of space for both books and readers will be a serious problem. Even with the additional space gained at the time of completing the new book-stack wing, when stack floor B and the present large document reading room were assigned to this division the time is close at hand when either its activities must be curtailed or additional space for its housing must be provided. Many times during the past year the seating capacity of the division was taxed to its capacity, although students not engaged upon work in the field of public documents are not allowed to work in this division. Of more serious import, the book-shelf capacity of the division is rapidly approaching exhaustion. Unless additional space shall

be provided in readiness for needed expansion at the proper time, the efficiency of this department of the Library will necessarily be seriously affected.

Catalogue Division

Mention was made in the preceding report of the six months' leave of absence granted Iva A. Welsh, head of the division, in July, 1915. Since January of the present year she has been again in charge, the work of the division having been directed in her absence by Florence E. Dunton. Anna Jacobsen has been on leave of absence since March 1; she is expected to resume her work in March, 1917. Her absence has necessitated a postponement for the time being of work on the Tank Collection, the cataloguing of which was begun last year.

A change in the catalogue staff which is recorded with genuine regret is the resignation of Miss Dunton, to take effect October 1, 1916. Her departure is a distinct loss to the Library, and to the catalogue division in particular, for both her personality and her professional attainments are of a high order of excellence. Her place will be filled by Ruth Hayward, who comes to us from the Cincinnati Public Library.

The compilation of a check list of serials contained in the libraries of Madison, an enterprise undertaken jointly by the State Historical and the University of Wisconsin libraries two years ago, has been practically completed, and its publication during the current fiscal year is anticipated. On the part of the Historical Library this work has devolved upon the catalogue staff. Its publication should be welcomed by all serious scholars throughout the State, whatever their special line of study may be.

Order Division

The last annual report gave a brief account of the installation of this division and of its function and methods. The burden of work involved in the constant search for, and efforts to acquire, current publications, and particularly public documents, is a heavy one. Aside from this steady routine work about the only activity of the year of any particular significance has been the prosecution of a comprehensive campaign for labor material. In the opinion of such competent experts as Professor Commons the Society's collection in this field is the strongest in America. In order to keep up with current issues, however, a constant stream of letters of solicitation must be maintained. Because of the many demands upon the division this work had been allowed to lag for a number of years. During the past year a strenuous effort has been made to build up the collection, letters being sent out to representatives of several hundred labor organizations. A great deal of material was collected as a consequence, although as might be expected many of the requests were fruitless of result. From the viewpoint of an efficient administration of the Library it is highly desirable that this division be adequately manned so that in future the work of collection need not fall in arrears.

Map, Manuscript, and Illustration Division

Administration

The working staff of the division is composed of the same persons as it was a year ago. Mabel C. Weaks, in charge of the division, devotes about half her time to the general routine work of this section of the Library, and the remaining half to prosecuting the calendaring of the Draper Collection of manuscripts. Ferne Congdon con-

tinues to devote about one-half of her time to the routine work of the division, and the other half to cataloguing. It should be noted, however, that all of the latter work done by her pertains to this division, and is performed in the manuscript room. Robert E. Berigan continues to devote his time mainly to the repair-of-manuscripts work. Near the close of the year arrangements (discussed more fully in another section of this report) have been concluded for adding another full-time worker to the staff of this division for the ensuing two-year period.

During the year the work of reclassifying and recataloguing the manuscript material removed from the large first-floor vault to Room 105 has been completed; in connection therewith a comprehensive scheme of classification of the contents of the manuscript division has been worked out which will suffice to accommodate the anticipated growth for an indefinite period to come. Its general character was predetermined by the place of classification adopted long since for the Draper Collection of manuscripts. For obvious reasons it was deemed highly undesirable to alter in any way the existing scheme of classification of this well-known and widely cited collection. That scheme, it will be recalled, differentiates the entire collection of papers into fifty groups or series, the first twenty-five being given each a single letter of the alphabet (the letter I being skipped because of its similarity to J), and the second twenty-five each a double letter (ie., AA, BB, CC, etc.) of the alphabet. Each series comprises one or more bound volumes, and each volume is composed of a considerable number of separate manuscripts. Thus it is possible, by the use of a simple pressmark designating the page number, volume number, and series number, to cite with great conciseness and absolute clarity any one of the scores of thousands of

documents contained in the four hundred and sixty odd volumes of the Draper Collection.

The Draper Collection was complete and its collector dead when this scheme was adopted, so that no provision had to be made for future growth. The Society, on the other hand, anticipates no termination of its existence and does not expect that its work of collecting will ever be concluded. The new classification scheme, therefore, must admit of practically unlimited expansion to keep pace with the future growth of the Society's collections. The scheme adopted to meet these requirements is an alphabetical one based on geographical considerations. It contemplates a grouping of collections of manuscripts according to the state of the Union (or the U. S. as a whole) to which they chiefly pertain; e. g., Michigan Mss., Texas Mss., U. S. Mss., etc. The series of papers belonging to any one of these groups will be designated by letters of the alphabet, as in the case of the Draper Collection. When in any geographical group a number of series large enough to exhaust the twenty-five letters (omitting I) of the alphabet shall have been acquired twenty-five additional series can be designated by the captions AA, AB, AC, etc.; twenty-five more by BA, BB, BC, etc., and so on, without the pressmark becoming unwieldy through undue multiplication of letters in the series designation.

The reclassifying and cataloguing of the maps belonging to the Society, begun by Miss Congdon last year, has been continued throughout the year covered by this report. Up to the present about 2,000 maps have been so treated. Unless inadequacy of funds shall prevent, this work will probably be continued until the entire collection of maps shall have been classified and catalogued in accordance with the most approved standards of library administration. Aside from the work done in the cataloguing of the

maps fifty have been mounted on cloth and passe partouted, to insure their preservation in spite of frequent use, fourteen atlases have been rebound, and twelve have been repaired.

An enterprise involving a good deal of labor which has been begun during the year is the making of a systematic canvass for photographs of all Wisconsin men and women whose careers have been sufficiently noteworthy for any reason to make desirable the inclusion of their pictures in the Society's collection. Despite the size and value of our present collection of portraits it contains many serious gaps. For example it has lacked, hitherto, pictures of many of Wisconsin's senators and representatives in Congress, of many of our State officials, and even, in some cases, pictures of the governors of Wisconsin are wanting. In the case of the earlier generation of Wisconsin men and women it is now often impossible to procure the missing pictures. Many, however, even of the earlier ones, can still be had, although much labor may be involved in the quest for them. Of more importance for the future development of our collection will be the systematic canvassing, year by year, of all persons of any prominence, political or otherwise, in the State. Toward this ideal we are now working. Its realization depends wholly upon the possession of an adequate office force to carry on the heavy work of correspondence involved.

Three or four years ago S. L. Stein of Milwaukee conceived the design of making and presenting to the Society a collection of photographs of Wisconsin men and women of prominence in one line of activity or another. The enterprise was strictly non-commercial in character, and in choosing the subjects to be included in the collection Mr. Stein had the assistance of a competent advisory committee. Prior to this year 194 splendid photographs

were sent to the Society to compose the Stein Collection; during the year 44 more have been added, and it is expected to continue adding to the collection indefinitely. The Society may well congratulate itself upon this fine gift of Mr. Stein. To purchase these pictures in the ordinary commercial way would be impossible.

Quite recently O. F. DeLonge of Madison has offered, and the Society has accepted, a similar collection of photographic portraits. Although the initial installment has not yet been turned over to the Society, a second fine collection of portraits of living Wisconsin men and women of note may be expected to accrue to it.

A few years ago the Society procured a photostat, both for its own convenience and for the rendering of greater service to the public by way of making the Library's resources easily accessible to persons unable to come to Madison. So useful has the machine become and so much is it used that it is difficult now to see how in earlier times we could get along without it. Particularly during the past year has the machine been put to heavy use. To instance a case of assistance thus rendered to a would-be patron of the Library who could not come to Madison, a college professor in North Carolina, engaged in an extensive historical investigation, was supplied with photographic copies of over 300 pages of the Draper manuscripts. Despite the increased cost of chemicals incident upon the war, it is still possible to do such work for a sum which is insignificant when compared with the cost of the older photographic process. The Society, of course, seeks no profit from the enterprise, supplying the work at cost, as nearly as this can be determined.

Another, and somewhat notable, illustration of a different type of service rendered possible through the possession of the photostat may be mentioned. A number

of valuable letter books of the American Fur Company are still preserved in private hands at Mackinac, under conditions not calculated to insure their freedom from eventual destruction. Although unwilling to part with them permanently the owner courteously permitted their shipment to Madison for the purpose of being photostated. Thereupon the offer was made to a number of sister societies to afford them the facilities of our machine by making for them, at the cost of production, copies of the letter books additional to the set made for ourselves. Three institutions, the Michigan Historical Commission, the Chicago Historical Society, and the University of Illinois, accepted the proffer, and accordingly four sets of copies of the letter books were made. The real significance of such a step may be perceived from the reflection that whereas until now these precious records have slumbered in obscurity at Mackinac, unknown or inaccessible to scholars and exposed to the likelihood of destruction at any time, henceforth they may be consulted at any one of the four institutions mentioned, and the likelihood of their being lost to the world through destruction of the originals is diminished at least fivefold.

The example noted points the way to an opportunity for the Society greatly to increase its usefulness as a laborer in the field of Wisconsin and western history. Article I of our constitution includes among the objects of our existence the "publishing and otherwise diffusing information relative to the history of the region." The Society has now been engaged in publishing such information for over sixty years. New occasions teach new duties, however. The development of the photostat affords an excellent agency whereby the Society may prosecute the work of "otherwise diffusing" historical information. In the East the Massachusetts Historical

Society under the able direction of Worthington C. Ford has for some time been pioneering in the field under discussion, and by its generous and farsighted administration of its photostat has put many libraries, including our own, heavily in its debt for the service it has rendered in their behalf. A similar opportunity for service awaits exploiting at the hands of someone here in the Middle West. Whether from the viewpoint of general prestige, of means adequate to the work in question, or of priority in the field the State Historical Society of Wisconsin would seem to be the logical institution to render this service.

Of more immediate moment to our own Society, the photostat has been used more extensively this year than ever before to build up our own manuscript collection. One instance of such use has already been described. In similar fashion two other important manuscript collections have been copied in our own Library, the Henderson Papers and the Harvey Reid Papers. These will be described in the succeeding section, devoted to accessions. Reference should be made here to the purchase of 64 photostatic copies of early American almanacs published prior to the year 1700; of copies of files of the Georgia *Gazette* and the Boston *News-Letter;* and of the acquisition of many thousand pages of documents, the year's harvest resulting from the work prosecuted in the Indian Office archives and other departments of the Federal government at Washington.

Repair of Manuscripts

The last annual report contained an account of the establishment, during the year covered by it, of a department for the repair of manuscripts. During the year just closing Robert E. Berigan has given his time to this

work, aside from about ten weeks devoted to operating the photostat, spending the greater part of it on the Moses M. Strong Papers. Material for seven bound volumes is now in the hands of the State binder and they should be on our shelves before the annual meeting occurs. Material for several additional volumes of Strong Papers can shortly be sent to the binder. Aside from this, and from jobs of minor dimensions, three volumes of Draper manuscripts have been put in permanent form for preservation and sixty-five pamphlets have been mounted in folders. In view of the somewhat slow and expensive character of manuscript-repair work it will probably be wise to concentrate attention for the next few years upon the more valuable parts of the Draper Collection.

Accessions

The preceding year was notable in the Society's history for the volume and importance of the manuscript accessions; an equally notable growth this year was not to be expected in reason. Nevertheless much important original material has been received and a great deal more has been acquired in the form of photostatic copies. The following statement calls attention only to the more important accessions.

From the office of the adjutant general of the State has been received a great mass of papers covering broadly the activities of this office from about 1850–90. These papers are properly a part of the State archives, and were taken over by the Society at this time chiefly to save them from impending destruction. No careful examination of them has yet been made. Naturally they are more extensive for the Civil War period than for any other; for these years they should supplement admirably the papers received from the governor's vault a year or so ago. Al-

though safely housed, and accessible in their present shape to anyone interested in them, the classification of the collection must await some future opportunity.

One of Wisconsin's boys in blue who sacrificed a University career to do his turn in the army was Harvey Reid of Union Grove, Racine County. He spent three months at the University of Wisconsin in the spring of 1861, leaving school at the end of June to enlist in the Twenty-second Wisconsin Infantry. His daughter, Mary A. Reid of Des Moines, has deposited with the Society her father's Civil War papers. While not an outright gift at this time it seems unlikely that the papers will ever be removed from the Society's custody. Nevertheless, to insure our retention of their substance, the bulk of the collection, including all the more important papers, has been photostated. The papers comprise an interesting diary of the eventful three months spent at the University, which it is hoped shortly to put in print; and a long series of letters to parents and sisters during the three years' military service, which practically constitute a journal for the period in question. As a substitute for the usual type of soldier's diary Reid adopted the device of writing his letters home in journalistic form. Being a man of scholarly tastes and wielding a facile pen he produced a series of letters well worthy of publication at some future time. Such a volume would constitute an interesting companion to the Jenkin Lloyd Jones diary published by the Wisconsin History Commission two years ago.

Probably the most important collection of original manuscripts acquired during the year is that comprising the papers of the Empire Lumber Company of Eau Claire, presented by O. H. Ingram, of that city. Mr. Ingram's active lumbering career spans almost the entire

history of the industry in Wisconsin, from its small beginnings in the fifties to the present time. The papers cover with somewhat varying intensiveness the activities of almost half a century, first of the firm of Ingram & Kennedy, and later of its successor, the Empire Lumber Company, of which Mr. Ingram was the founder and guiding spirit. A considerable proportion of the papers acquired were of a purely routine character and not deemed worthy of permanent preservation. There remains the original letters and the letter-press copies. These are often of intense interest and taken as a whole the correspondence should go far toward making possible the writing of the history of the lumbering industry of the Chippewa Valley. Although considerable work has already been devoted to sorting and classifying the correspondence no effort has been made to compute the number of letters contained in it. It is entirely safe to say that it runs to many thousands. The larger proportion, however, consists of letter-press copies which are for the most part in a very bad state of preservation, and it is still problematical what proportion of these can be preserved in legible condition. Making all necessary deductions, however, the collection remains of large extent and of more than usual historical interest and value. With the acquisition, now in prospect, of another similar collection of papers concerning lumbering, it should be possible for the Society to add a series of volumes on that subject to its published *Collections*. Whether or not this shall be done, the possession of the original papers by the Society will enable students of our lumbering history to study their subject at first hand in these important collections of source material.

Mention was made a year ago of the acquisition of the important collection of papers of Cyrus Woodman.

At the time it was not supposed that any further material from this source was to be expected. During the year, however, Edward Woodman of Portland, son of Cyrus Woodman, has supplemented the original gift by the addition of twenty-two volumes of his father's letter books. It is now understood that the collection is complete in so far as this Society is concerned. Of peculiar interest to it, the letters of Woodman reveal that long before our Society assumed material form it existed as a dream in his fertile brain; and that for years, unaided and alone, surrounded by the crude society of the lead-mine region of the forties, he spent his money and time freely in the acquisition of books and newspaper files which should ultimately afford a nucleus for the historical library of which he dreamed. Turning the pages of his letters one can easily imagine the satisfaction he would feel, could he return to life, at the sight of our splendid Library building with its precious contents, and over the contemplation of the mighty oak that has developed from the acorn he planted three-quarters of a century ago.

But little can be said of another valuable acquisition during the year, yet for the sake of the record some allusion should be made to it. A significant collection of papers of a political character has been placed with the Society, under seal for a considerable term of years. When the appropriate time arrives for exploiting it, it is believed that future students of Wisconsin history will congratulate themselves upon its preservation for their use.

Mrs. Smiley Blanton has deposited a small group of papers of Gen. Thomas T. Smiley of Nashville, Tennesse. Another small yet interesting group of papers has been presented by Gen. Philip Reade of Lowell, Massachusetts. They include certificates of his membership in the Wisconsin National Guard and the Light Horse Squadron of

Milwaukee; his commission from President McKinley as inspector general of volunteers; a facsimile of the flag-of-truce letter signed by Gen. Benjamin F. Butler, April 7, 1864; and a chart showing the maternal ancestors of General Reade.

The Society's group of papers pertaining to Maj. Nathan Heald, commander at Fort Dearborn, Fort Wayne, and other northwestern posts a century ago, has been increased through the gift by his granddaughter, Mrs. Arthur McCluer of O'Fallon, Missouri, of three letters written to Major Heald from 1820–32. Mrs. Clarence Hean of Madison has presented a genealogical manuscript record of the family of Jacob Brown, compiled by Samuel Brown in 1792. Another manuscript genealogical record, pertaining to the Ross family of Pennsylvania, is the gift of Mrs. Charles Sage of Delavan. Still other records of this character pertaining to the donor's family were given by R. C. Ballard Thruston of Louisville, Kentucky.

Turning from original manuscripts to photostatic copies, mention has already been made of the American Fur Company letter books at Mackinac covering the years from 1816–25. The acquisition of these papers is peculiarly timely in view of the fact that it is hoped soon to resume work on the fur-trade series in the Society's *Collections*, the prosecution of which has been intermitted since the present superintendent's incumbency, with a view to searching more carefully the Washington archives for additional material. One other volume of the Mackinac letter-book series in private hands has been located, and negotiations looking to its acquisition are now under way. With all this material in hand, the work of preparing further volumes for publication in the fur-trade series of the *Collections* may be resumed.

The most prolific source of photostatic copies of original manuscripts has proceeded, naturally, from the work being prosecuted at Washington. The Indian Office harvest has been unusually great, and the completion of the work there has been correspondingly prolonged. It has now, however, been practically completed.

In all 32,410 pages of manuscript prints have been procured, 17,671 of these during the past year, and the balance during the one covered by the preceding annual report.

From the Land Office have come several hundred prints; these represent the working of but one small corner of this department's archives, no extensive search of them being feasible at this time. From the Library of Congress several hundred prints of documents in the George Washington Papers have been received. Although procured for the special purpose of publication in a volume of the Draper Series which the Society has now in press, the photostatic copies will be carefully preserved for such future reference as students may care to make to them.

Through the courtesy of Shelby Rouse of Covington, Kentucky, the Society has been permitted to copy the papers of his grandfather, Rev. Thomas Henderson, superintendent of the noted Choctaw Academy in that state. The documents copied comprise several hundred pages of letters from Col. Richard M. Johnson relative to the Academy, and of letters from John D. Poteet written from St. Louis in the years from about 1816–22.

Logically to be noted in the list of manuscript accessions is the card catalogue of manuscripts in the State Department archives pertaining to the history of Wisconsin and the tributary region. The prosecution of this work at the State Department is described elsewhere.

Its most tangible result thus far has been the acquisition of over 2,800 cards, each one calendaring a separate document in the archives, which has a bearing either upon the immediate history of Wisconsin or of the larger region to which it belongs. In this connection it should be remembered that a single card may describe a document running to scores of pages, as for example a governor's letter book. Of importance equal to the possession of the calendar for the documents found is the assurance that for the period covered, from the beginning down to 1866, no other material of any significance for our section exists in the State Department archives. When copies shall have been procured of the pertinent material located through this search it will become possible to resume work on the enterprise begun a year ago of preparing for publication the more important executive records of our Territory and State.

IV. THE MUSEUM

Activities and Ideals

In order to deserve a full measure of public support a museum must endeavor to serve the community in every possible way and to the utmost of its resources. This for a number of years past the Historical Museum has striven to do and has already established a most excellent record for public service. The steady growth of all departments of its work indicates the great appreciation with which its efforts to make its collections worthy of the State and useful to the people have been rewarded.

The reinstallation of its extensive collections having been largely completed during the previous year it has been possible for the Museum chief and his assistants to devote a greater amount of time and attention than has heretofore been possible to coöperating more closely and

effectively with various departments of the Society's neighbor, the University of Wisconsin. This has been done by planning special exhibits best adapted to their needs and inviting the instructors to give lectures to their classes on these occasions in the Museum halls. In preparing these expositions all of the rich resources not only of the Museum but also of both the State Historical and the University libraries have been freely drawn upon.

The data presented elsewhere in this report show how enthusiastically these invitations to make serious use of the Museum were accepted by various departments of the University. By this means educational benefits have been distributed not only among the classes of students actually being served but also to thousands of other visitors. The results have been of a most gratifying character. Other methods of attracting students to the Museum and of instructing them in the use of its collections have also been pursued with the result that a far larger number of persons, both students and citizens, are now making serious use of the collections than in any previous year in the Museum's history.

Records have been kept of the use made of the collections and of other information which the Museum office has supplied on written or oral request to both individual students and visitors. The data thus obtained show that fifty persons came for the purpose of identifying coins, tokens, and postage stamps. About twenty different objects in the Museum were photographed by permission for use as illustrations in books and magazines. Three persons were occupied at different times in copying oils and water colors there on exhibition. About twenty-five visitors came to study the collections of Indian stone and metal implements, and thirty others to secure information for club papers on early American pewter, china-

ware, and furniture, the industries of natives of Mexico, Indian foods and their preparation, and other subjects. Information concerning styles of museum cases, of the use of card indexes, etc., was furnished to museums located at Edmond, Oklahoma, Three Oaks, Michigan, Fargo, North Dakota, St. Paul, Sheboygan, and elsewhere.

Representatives of seven Camp Fire Girl groups were assisted with information concerning appropriate Indian names, symbols, and costumes. A number of requests for Indian names for streets and summer-resort homes were answered. Data and references to publications on local landmarks and Indian folk lore was supplied for the use of women's clubs and other organizations at Denmark, Brillion, Manawa, Beloit, West Allis, and Richland Center.

Consultations were had with a number of persons interested in the production of historical pageants at Beloit, Green Bay, Prairie du Chien, and Madison, and with a number of students concerning the best methods of organizing and installing exhibits at the recent University Dairy Products Exposition. Assistance was given to three students engaged in the preparation of theses in which museum collections or specimens were featured. The Babylonian tablets and a collection of original strains of Indian corn and other seeds were examined by several specialists in these fields. The lock of a wheel-lock gun and a spinning wheel were several times loaned to faculty members for use in lectures.

Copy for a new edition of the portrait catalogue has been prepared for early publication, and a new and more complete teachers' handbook has been issued. To assist the increasing number of persons interested in the production of festivals, plays, and pageants there has been

assembled the material for a costume-picture collection. The necessary pictures for this purpose were obtained from magazines, newspapers, advertising, and other sources and are mounted on sheets of cardboard. The collection now numbers about 1,500 pictures and additions are constantly being made. It is intended to supplement the literature on this subject at present contained in the two libraries. The present collection has been in almost constant use throughout the year by students and other persons and has already repaid the large amount of work which its making entailed.

Through the interest of friends in England and Canada it was possible to assemble a valuable collection of the recruiting posters in use in those countries. After being exhibited in the Museum for a time these have been transferred for permanent preservation to the care of the manuscript division. Another collection is being made of pictures, photographs, and other materials illustrating the development of the automobile. This bids fair to prove of considerable future value.

The chief of the Museum has several plans which it has not as yet been possible to carry into effect. One of these is the giving, preferably in the Museum halls, to a limited number of librarians or others who may desire to take it, of a course of instruction in museology. There is a growing demand in Wisconsin and elsewhere for trained workers in this inviting field which the Museum might thus assist in supplying. Another plan contemplates the extension of museum service to the schools of the State by the organization of traveling collections of specimens, pictures, and literature useful to them in connection with the courses given in the field of American history.

It is believed that one of the smaller halls might now very profitably be set aside for the installation of a col-

lection illustrating the history of childhood and to be especially dedicated to the numerous children of all ages who visit its collections. This, however, will require some expenditure for cases and other necessary furnishings, and possibly a patron willing to furnish the funds needed for the acquirement of the specimens required to constitute an instructive and creditable collection.

School and University Attendance, Clubs, and Conventions

At the beginning of the school year the customary invitations were extended to the principals of the city and surrounding county schools to permit classes of children accompanied by their teachers to visit the Museum. Its records show that fifteen schools, a total of twenty-six classes of all grades from the kindergarten to the eighth, numbering in all 506 pupils, accepted this invitation. An increase of eleven classes over the previous year is thus recorded. These visits were distributed through the year from October to the closing of the schools in June. Eighteen classes came from Madison, the others from public schools at Middleton, Blue Mounds, Verona, Black Earth, Cross Plains, and Baraboo. One other class was made up of pupils from a number of Dane County schools.

Seventeen high-school classes with a total of 329 students came to the Museum for instruction. Ten of these were from the Madison High School and the University High School, and seven from schools at Sun Prairie, Marshall, Albion, Brooklyn, Port Washington, Cassville, and Thorpe. Under an arrangement in which the Museum will coöperate with the Extension Division of the University it is expected to encourage a much larger number of State schools to make trips to Madison in the future.

It has already been noted that a special effort was made during the year to encourage the use of the Museum's collections by a larger number of University classes. Twenty-two classes representing six departments, with a total of 871 students, were in attendance at lectures or were given other instruction in the Museum halls—chairs and benches being arranged for their seating. This number does not include art or domestic science students in attendance at the lectures and easel talks given under the auspices of the Madison Art Association, nor does it include a large number of others sent to the Museum by the departments of agriculture, English, journalism, history, and pharmacy for the gathering of data for the preparation of articles, themes, theses, and other purposes.

No fewer than sixty newspaper articles descriptive of important collections and accessions and of the general conduct of the Museum were prepared by students of the course in journalism. Many of these found their way into print in the columns of local, State, and other newspapers and periodicals. From October 22 to December 5 an art class of thirty-three students was occupied in preparing pencil and pen sketches of various objects in the exhibition halls. Thus was opened a new use for the objects in a historical museum; for the conception and carrying out of the plan credit is due Prof. W. H. Varnum. Some of the student artists were at work for an hour or more each day until the required sketches were completed, special facilities for this work being extended to them.

Perhaps the most important work engaged in during the recent summer session of the University was the assistance extended to students in the course in festival work given by Prof. H. K. Bassett. For their instruction

the Museum's extensive costume-picture collection and the literature on this subject contained in the University and State Historical libraries were made readily accessible by means of special displays and otherwise. These materials were in constant use by the many participants in the Shakespearian market festival staged on the upper campus at the close of the session, and personal attention was given by members of the Museum staff to nearly all of these workers.

Since the small beginning made in 1908 each year of the Museum's existence has shown the great and growing possibilities of close coöperation with the public schools and the University of the State. To the increased extension of this educational service the very small membership of the Museum staff is now the most important obstacle.

Among other organizations making serious use of the Museum during the year were the Gudrid Society, twenty members of which convened in its halls on December 1, 1915. The history department of the Madison Woman's Club held a meeting in the auditorium on January 24 and another on May 1, being addressed by Charles E. Brown and Louise Phelps Kellogg, both of the Society's staff. On February 8 the Rock County "corn contest" boys, thirty-five in number, were conducted through the collections, an excursion pleasure which these prospective farmers of the State greatly appreciated. The ladies attending the convention of the Knights of Columbus came on May 10, by special invitation of the Museum. On June 2 a class of twenty-five Y. W. C. A. working girls were taken care of. On the same day the chief gave a lecture in the Society's auditorium to forty members of the art department of the Madison Woman's Club, his subject being the large collection of oil and other por-

traits owned by the Society. Their use in this manner, in illustrating the development of art in portraiture in the Northwest has not before been attempted. A class of Dominican sisters from the mother house at Sinsinawa visited the Museum on July 25 and a boy scout patrol of 16 members from Lake Mills on August 2.

Special Exhibits

With every succeeding year the special exhibits made of Museum specimens, begun in 1912, have become increasingly important. These exhibits have commonly been made in the Print Room and in North and South halls. In their preparation the resources of all the departments of the Society's Library, together with those of the University Library and of private collections, have been drawn upon. Their preparation has required much time and attention but this extra work has been more than justified by the large number of persons to whom the exhibits have been helpful.

During the month of April, in connection with the local observance of the tercentenary of William Shakespeare's death, in coöperation with the Madison Art Association an exhibition was made in the Print Room and South Hall of rare Shakespeare editions, of old commentaries, of illustrations of his life and plays, and of other selected material. During the time of its continuance a series of six lectures on Shakespearian subjects was given in the Museum auditorium by members of the University faculty.

The celebration by the University, during the month of February, of the perfection and dissemination of the Babcock test was assisted by a special Museum display arranged in honor of the distinguished inventor, Dr. Stephen Moulton Babcock, of the University. This con-

sisted of the silver and bronze medals and diplomas awarded to him by the State and by various other organizations, and of pictures, photographs, and other articles illustrative of his invention and its acknowledgment by the dairymen of the United States and foreign countries.

Through the courtesy of Dr. B. L. Riese of Chicago it was possible to make an exhibit of some of the choicest specimens of his valuable collection of books and manuscripts.

During the summer session of the University a series of five weekly exhibits was made. These consisted of the Museum's costume-picture collection, of a rare collection of thirty world atlases dating from 1550 to 1839, of British and Canadian recruiting posters, of censored mail, and of early American paper money. All were noticed in the University weekly calendar, and were in constant use by students.

In coöperation with the members of the Wisconsin Philatelic Society three instructive exhibitions, one of Mexican War stamps, one of early United States stamps, revenue stamps, covers, and post cards, and one of American and foreign philatelic literature, were made. A large number of young men and of other persons interested in philately attended these exhibitions.

An exhibit comprising about one hundred musical instruments both of aboriginal and civilized peoples and designed to illustrate both their development and range was made for the students taking music courses in the University. During its continuance four lectures were given by the members of the School of Music faculty. Among other special exhibits made during the year was one of material illustrating the life of Benjamin Franklin; one illustrating the development of the automobile; and one of reproductions of fourteenth and fifteenth century French art.

The Madison Art Association conducted a number of art exhibitions, some of them of much merit, in the auditorium. On several occasions both this hall and a portion of North Hall were in use. The art exhibits opened with a display in early October of several large oil paintings, copies of Italian masterpieces made by Mrs. Samantha L. Huntley. An exhibit of children's work in illustration was also made at this time by Miss Deborah Kallen of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. The December exhibition was one of fifty water colors by Alexander Robinson of Paris and that of January one of sixteen oils by Charles M. Russell, illustrating "The West that has Passed." The February display consisted of a collection of the etchings of R. M. Pearson, of water colors by Carlandi of Rome, and of two separate collections of paintings by Olaf Brauner and William E. Schumacher. In April a collection of thirty-two marines by Paul Dougherty was hung. This continued throughout the summer. This and the Russell exhibit were the best attended and most appreciated of the entire series. In connection with these exhibitions public lectures were given by several University professors and by the chief of the Museum. Several of these lectures were given on Sunday afternoons when the Museum was open to the public and the attendance of citizens was large and appreciative. From October 12–30 a particularly attractive collection of seventy-five paintings by Wisconsin artists was made by the women of the art department of the Madison Woman's Club. This was assembled by the Milwaukee Art Society, and sent to various towns throughout Wisconsin under the auspices of the State Federation of Women's Clubs.

Accessions

The total number of specimens received by the Museum during the year is 1,050, of which 875 are gifts and the remainder deposits and purchases.

Notable among the gifts is Daniel Webster's coach, which was presented by Mrs. Frank G. Brown of Madison. This was loaned to the State Historical Society by her father, the late John R. Goodrich of Milwaukee, in 1893, and is a fine example of the better class of family carriages in use a century and more ago. It has become in the twenty-three years since it was placed in the Society's care easily the most widely known historical relic in the Northwest.

A collection of Indian materials, numbering hundreds of specimens, made by Halvor L. Skavlem from the noted Carajou village site located on his farm on the west shore of Lake Koshkonong, and donated by him to the Society is the most important addition to the archeological division of the Museum which has been received in many years. Apparently this village site was occupied by the Indians from the pre-Columbian period to the time of the coming of the first white settlers to this region. It was in 1832 the site of the village of the Winnebago chief, White Crow. It is certain that no more complete or valuable collection has ever been made from an Indian village site in this State. It represents a number of years of painstaking investigation on the part of the donor, and affords a very complete exposition of the customs, industries, and commerce of the people to whom it pertains.

Among other important gifts to this department is a collection of human crania and other bones, large fragments of pottery vessels, shell, and other implements obtained by Frank H. Lyman of Kenosha during the

recent exploration of a large shell mound on the west coast of Florida. Mrs. Lewis S. Patrick of Marinette has given an interesting series of archeological materials from the Menominee River region near that city. Harry C. Dyer of Madison has prepared and presented to the Museum a fine miniature model of an upper Mississippi River raft boat and log raft tow. A small cylindrical horsehair trunk used by Dr. W. B. Egan, the first civilian physician of Chicago, is the gift of W. B. E. Shufeldt of Oconomowoc. The value of the collection on medical history has been increased by the addition of a fine bronze bust of the distinguished surgeon, Gen. Nicholas Senn, given by his sons, Drs. E. G. and W. Senn of Chicago. General Senn began his medical practice at Eldorado, in Fond du Lac County, in 1868.

Henry Schroeder and Mrs. Rose Patitz of Milwaukee have donated the brass fire trumpet used by their father, John Schroeder, when assistant foreman in 1840 of Neptune Volunteer Fire Company of that city. From Dr. W. R. Ruggles of Ridgeway have been received interesting examples of a breaking plow and a corn plow used in Wisconsin in the early days of settlement. Miss Mary E. Stewart of Milwaukee and Mrs. Helen Gilman Wing of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, have made numerous additions to the collections of articles of dress, jewelry, and other specimens in use in this State from 1840 to 1880. Brother Joseph Dutton of Kalawao, Molokai, Hawaiian Islands, has been for years a generous friend of the Museum. His latest gifts include a fine series of kapa beaters and war clubs formerly used by natives of the Hawaiian Islands and Samoa. An engraved powderhorn made by a Continental soldier during the British occupation of Boston has been presented by Mrs. Josephine Gallup Hunter of Merriam Park, Minnesota. This has been

featured in a number of illustrated and other articles recently published in Boston and other newspapers. Mrs. Lucius Fairchild of Madison is the donor of quite an extensive collection of the sandals, slippers, sabots, and shoes worn by the lower classes of natives of various European countries. She has also deposited with the Museum her collection of thirty-two specimens of foreign dolls. These dolls are a never failing source of attraction to the many children and young women who visit the Museum halls. Mrs. M. S. Rowley has placed in our care two Spanish flags captured by Commodore James Allen during the destruction of Admiral Cervera's fleet at Santiago in 1898.

Friends of the Society have never been more generous in their gifts to the Museum than during the past year. Upwards of one hundred residents of Wisconsin and other States have contributed to the upbuilding of the collection during this time. Each contribution is acknowledged either orally or by personal letter. Gratifying as it would be to make public acknowledgment here of each individual gift, the limitations of space render this course impossible. The friends who have contributed will find satisfaction in the knowledge that they have aided in the upbuilding of an institution which annually affords entertainment and instruction to scores of thousands of people.

Archeological Activities

No extended archeological surveys have been conducted. Researches of minor importance have, however, been carried on in Adams, Rock, and several other counties. Some work has been done during the year to encourage the preservation and protection of additional examples of the Indian effigy and other mounds located on the lake

shores about the city of Madison. Metal tablets presented by James M. Pyatt of Chicago have been placed upon two groups of mounds located in Vilas Park and at Edgewood on Lake Wingra. The mounds previously preserved and marked on the University and State Hospital grounds have been visited by hundreds of tourists.

For the benefit of summer-session students a new leaflet describing the Indian history and earthworks of Lake Wingra was issued. The annual steamboat excursion of students to historical and archeological sites on the shores of Lake Mendota was this year conducted on July 15, 114 students participating.

On Labor Day, September 4, the Wisconsin Archeological and the Sauk County Historical societies held a joint meeting at Devils Lake State Park for the purpose of unveiling a bronze tablet marker on the large bird-effigy mound on the southeastern shore of the lake. About one hundred persons, chiefly from Madison and Baraboo, were in attendance and an enjoyable and profitable time was had. The tablet is the gift of Harry E. Cole of Baraboo, editor of the Baraboo *News* and a curator of the State Historical Society.

The publications issued by the Wisconsin Archeological Society during the year are: *Archeological History of Milwaukee County*, and *Lake Wingra*, both by Charles E. Brown, and *Outagamie County Antiquities* and *Indian Remains in Manitowoc County* by Dr. Louis Falge. Another treatise descriptive of the antiquities of Waushara County is in course of publication at the time of making this report.

V. RESEARCH AND PUBLICATION DIVISION

The Staff

For the information of the Society's members and for the sake of the record it seems advisable to call attention to the organization of this branch of the Society's staff. Three people during the year have devoted their entire time to the work of this division, Louise Kellogg, Frederick Merk, and Lydia Brauer. Three other workers, the superintendent, the assistant superintendent, and Mabel Weaks, chief of the manuscript division, devoted a larger or smaller portion of their time to it. In addition to these six, a number of other members of the Library staff gave a good deal of irregular assistance at different times in the way of typewriting, copyholding, proofreading, etc. Of all those noted only Miss Kellogg and Mr. Merk devoted their unhampered energies to the work of research, and even in the case of these two certain minor exceptions must be made to this statement. Mr. Merk has attended to the preparation of the *Wisconsin History Bulletin*, sent out monthly to several hundred editors as a clip sheet, and to writing the monthly historical article of some length supplied to some thirty of the larger papers of Wisconsin and adjoining states. Miss Kellogg usually prepares the indexes to the Society's publications, a task oftentimes of considerable magnitude, and assists in answering the numerous historical queries that come to the office. In this connection it should be recalled that the Society maintains a general bureau of historical information service which is numerously patronized from both within and without the State. As such queries come in they are referred to that member of the staff who seems best qualified to answer them, more frequently to Miss Kellogg, Miss Weaks, or the general reference

division of the Library. Aside from the service just indicated, the portion of Miss Weaks's time devoted to the work of this division has for several years been put upon the calendar of the Draper Manuscripts. Whether this should more properly be termed research or cataloguing is a rather fine question which, fortunately, there is no necessity for answering. Miss Brauer does no research work, having been engaged for the special duty of preparing copy for and seeing it through the press. In this work she is assisted very largely by Miss Nunns, who has had long experience of this kind, and to a less extent from time to time by Miss Park, Miss Farley, and others. The superintendent plans and supervises all the work of the division, and himself performs as much of it as his abilities and freedom from other duties render practicable.

Two changes in the working staff of this division of some importance take place at the close of the year. Mr. Merk's five-year connection with it has been severed temporarily by the grant of a leave of absence to enable him to pursue his graduate work at Harvard, where he has been granted a fellowship in history for the coming year. The generous offer of the Filson Club, described in another place, makes possible the addition to the staff, at no expense to the Society, of another worker for the special purpose of prosecuting more vigorously the calendaring of the Draper Collection. Mrs. Helen Wallace of Madison has been chosen for this position and began work early in October. In this connection it is proper to note that the special work being done for the Society at Washington by Dr. N. D. Mereness may properly be regarded in the light of historical research, and so a reference to it is included in this brief statement concerning the present organization of the division.

Executive Committee's Report

Publications Issued

In the last report the adoption of a new format for the Society's publications was announced. Two volumes and several bulletins have now been distributed since its adoption, so that the friends of the Society are in position to judge for themselves what measure of improvement, if any, has been wrought in the appearance of its publications. The new page is considerably larger than the old one, thus making possible the better reproduction of illustrations and maps. Instead of art vellum a blue basket-weave buckram binding has been adopted.

Although a real improvement has been made in this respect, as it is believed, the publications of the Society can never be made what they should be until a radical change is made in the system in vogue in connection with this branch of the State printing. The printing and binding is the one branch of the Society's work which is taken from its own control and entrusted to that of other agencies of the State; it is likewise the branch of our work which is conducted with the minimum of efficiency and dispatch. So long as our publications are lumped with the great mass of routine reports of the various departments of the State government, and their execution contracted for two years in advance without regard for the individuality or special characteristics of the different pieces of work to be done, so long, apparently, will our publication work fall short of the standard to which we should attain. A number of interviews with the late secretary of the printing board had culminated, shortly before his death, in the promise of an important change for the ensuing year in the method of doing the Society's printing. Had this been carried out it would have effected, probably, a substantial improvement in the execution of this branch of our work.

Two volumes, six bulletins of information, and one handbook have been published and distributed during the year. Two additional volumes which it was expected to have brought out have been delayed, the one because of the inability of the printer to do our work, the other because a greater length of time than had been anticipated was required for the work of authorship. The volumes issued are the *Proceedings* of the Society for 1915, and volume XXII of the *Collections*. The latter, issued under the personal editorship of the superintendent, contains the recently found journals of Captain Meriwether Lewis and Sergeant John Ordway kept on the noted exploring expedition of Lewis and Clark from 1803–6. The publication of this volume adds another important chapter to the work of this Society and its members in preserving the records of this famous expedition. Secretary Draper found and preserved the Sergeant Floyd Diary, and it now rests in the manuscript division of our Library. The Society's second superintendent gave to the world for the first time the extant records of the expedition in a splendid edition of eight volumes. The present volume of our *Collections* supplements this edition, of course.

The handbook issued, published in December, 1915, is a new and somewhat improved edition of the *Teachers' Guide to the Museum.* The titles and dates of publication of the bulletins of information issued are as follows:

No. 77, *Collections on Labor and Socialism in the Wisconsin State Historical Library*, November, 1915.

No. 78, *Strong and Woodman Manuscript Collections in the Wisconsin State Historical Library*, November, 1915.

No. 81, *The Keyes and the Civil War Manuscript Collections in the Wisconsin Historical Library*, March, 1916.

No. 82, *Periodicals and Newspapers Currently Received at the Wisconsin Historical Library*, June, 1916.

No. 83, *List of Active Members of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and of its Local Auxiliaries*, June, 1916.

No. 84, *Historical Pageantry: A Treatise and a Bibliography*, July, 1916.

The numbers missing from the above list are assigned, it may be noted, to reprints of articles from the *Proceedings*, concerning which no special mention is made in this report.

Mention may properly be made in this connection of certain publications of the year for which the Society has no official responsibility yet for which it deserves a certain measure of credit. Professor Shambaugh of Iowa having resigned the editorship of the *Proceedings* of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association after seven years of service, the superintendent was asked to undertake the work, and this, for one year, he consented to do. The current volume of our sister society's publications, therefore, was edited in our building by the members of our Society's staff. A somewhat similar enterprise was the editing by the superintendent of a volume on the *Development of Chicago, 1673–1914*, published by the Caxton Club of that city in May, 1916. Another Chicago organization, the Lakeside Press, has asked the superintendent to assume the editorship for an indefinite term of the annual historical volume which it has for several years been in the habit of issuing at Christmas time. The invitation was accepted, and the initial volume prepared under the superintendent's direction, a reprint of Black-Hawk's *Autobiography*, is already in type. Another volume, now in press, which should prove of great interest to members of this Society, has been edited during the year by Louise Phelps Kellogg. Entitled *Original Narratives of the Northwest*, it is to constitute the concluding volume in the notable series of *Original Narratives of*

Early American History, authorized by the American Historical Association and put forth under the general editorship of Dr. J. Franklin Jameson of the Carnegie Institution at Washington.

Future Issues and Work in Progress

At the time of making this report two volumes are undergoing publication for the Society by the State printer. Copy for one was sent to the printer on April 18, and for the other September 27. Since it commonly takes eight or more months for the publication of a volume by the State printer, the delivery of the more advanced volume of the two now in his hands should be made about January 1, and of the one for which copy was recently sent him about June 1, 1917. The more advanced volume will constitute volume XXIII of the *Collections* of the Society. Its contents pertain to the Revolution in the West, 1778–79, being drawn chiefly from the manuscripts in the Draper Collection. The volume will be the fourth published by the Society in this field, and will be entitled *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio*. The work of editing it has been performed by Miss Kellogg of the Society's research staff.

The volume recently sent to press is Mr. Merk's *Economic History of Wisconsin During the Civil War Decade*, the inception and progress of which has been noted in previous annual reports. With this work the Society inaugurates a new series of *Studies* in Wisconsin and western history; the distinction between the *Studies* and the *Collections* being that the contents of the latter are devoted to the publication of source material, while the former series will be composed of finished historical studies technically distinguished among historians as secondary material. In earlier years the contents of the

Collections were made up indiscriminately of source and of secondary material, a practice still adhered to by many historical societies. In this connection and also in its annual volume of *Proceedings* the Society has already published a great deal in the way of valuable secondary studies. It has never, heretofore, devoted an entire volume to this end, however, and hence the time seems ripe, in connection with the issuance of the first one, to announce the formal initiation of such a series. The volume prepared by Mr. Merk sets a standard of historical excellence for the series which will not easily be excelled in future issues. Thorough to a degree in its scholarship, the book has been written with a charm and vigor which commands the attention of the reader to the end. Notwithstanding the supposedly dry-as-dust character of the subject, it is the dictum of one competent judge, not connected with the Historical Society, who has gone over part of the work in manuscript, that it "reads like a novel." Its issuance from the press may well be anticipated with pleasure by the members and friends of the Society.

Of projects under way at the time of this report preparatory to future publication the following facts may be noted:

The editing by Miss Kellogg of what will constitute the fifth volume in the Draper Series is perhaps three-fourths advanced toward completion. The volume, which is not expected to appear during the coming year, will cover the Revolution in the West during the two-year period from August, 1779 to August, 1781. Still another volume in this series will be required to finish covering the Revolution in the West. When this shall have been done it is expected to continue with the development of the West in the post-Revolutionary period, in which the Draper Collection is particularly rich.

The gathering of material for a documentary history of Wisconsin's constitution, to which the superintendent is devoting his personal attention, has been considerably advanced during the year. Naturally the most prolific sources of material for this subject are the contemporary files of Wisconsin newspapers, many of which are preserved in the Society's Library. The routine work involved in the enterprise is little short of appalling; to this work alone has attention been devoted thus far. The serious task of editing still awaits doing. How soon a volume, or volumes, in the proposed series will be ready for the press it is still too early to attempt to estimate.

Another enterprise to which the personal attention of the superintendent has been given is the editing for publication of the Bottomley family papers. These were acquired by the Society two years ago. They present such an intimate and vivid picture of the life of the pioneer Wisconsin farmer that their early publication has been determined upon. The work of editing has been postponed for the present, however, in order that a search may be made for suitable material of the same general character to add to the Bottomley papers to make up a volume of suitable size. Should the search be successful soon enough, this volume will be issued during the coming year; otherwise its publication will be delayed until a later date.

The preceding reports together with the financial section of the present one set forth the origin and purposes of the Hollister Fund. During the year work has been in progress upon the preparation of the initial volume in accordance with the plan outlined in the last annual report. It has been decided to initiate the new series of publications by reprinting, with translation and appropriate editing, the rare work of Father Joseph François

Lafitau, *Memoire * * * concernant la precieuse plante du Ginseng de Tartarie * * ** published at Paris in 1718. The work of translating and editing the volume is being done by Dr. Edward Kremers, head of the pharmaceutical department of the University, who has generously placed at the disposal of the Society his expert knowledge of this special field. The enterprise now being developed in connection with the Hollister Fund, of which the republication of Lafitau's work will constitute the initial contribution, is believed to be unique in the annals of American historical societies. A wise administration of the proceeds of the fund donated by Colonel and Mrs. Hollister should result, in the course of time, in the making of many valuable contributions to the history and development of the pharmaceutical science in America. It is to be hoped that the demonstration of what may thus be done in connection with this particular science will in time inspire men whose life work has lain in other fields to establish similar funds to be used in developing the history of the science or industry with which their careers have been identified.

Mention was made in the last report of work being done on an historical atlas of the State, and on the continuation of the Draper Calendar Series. Other interests having taken precedence, no progress has been made during the year with the former project. Although postponed, it has not been abandoned, and resumption of work upon it will be had as soon as circumstances permit. Work on volume II of the Draper Calendar Series has been prosecuted steadily throughout the year; completion of the editorial part of it may be expected before January 1, and the distribution of the volume to the Society's members and exchanges perhaps eight or nine months later. Midsummer of 1917 should witness, too, the publi-

cation, jointly by the Society and the University of Wisconsin, of the checklist of serials in Madison libraries. The checklist will cover the four important institutions of the city, the Madison Public, the State Law, the University, and the State Historical libraries, and will constitute a goodly volume.

Two minor works have been prepared for publication a new checklist of portraits in the Museum; this will be issued as a bulletin of information. The other is a translation, accompanied by appropriate editorial introduction, of the rare pamphlet of Ole Nattestad, giving his account of his experiences and impressions in the New World. It is intended to publish this both in the original Norwegian and in translation. Both translation and editing have generously been donated to the Society by Prof. Rasmus B. Anderson of Madison, noted Norwegian scholar and publisher. It is expected to initiate, with its publication, a new series which shall afford an opportunity, additional to that provided by the annual volume of *Proceedings*, for the publication of documents and historical studies of shorter length than those which are appropriate for inclusion in the *Collections* and the *Studies*. The precise form which this publication will take has not yet been determined.

VI. THE FUTURE

In considering the future of the Society from the viewpoint of a knowledge of its past, and of the conditions which govern at the present time, the attention is arrested by the fact that the people of the State, considered as individuals, have contributed all too conservatively to its support and upbuilding. Attention has already been called to one aspect of this question in connection with the membership of the Society. Another aspect of it is presented in connection with the private funds. After two-

thirds of a century of creditable activity these amount in all to a little over $100,000, a large proportion of which represents the unexpended income of the funds originally given the Society. Without definite figures at hand it is probably a fair estimate that not over $1,000 per year on the average has been given to the Society for permanent endowment during its existence. The foregoing does not take account, of course, of the one considerable estate which, subject to certain contingencies not yet realized, may eventually come to it. The two former secretaries of the Society have done what they might to demonstrate their belief both in its need of private benefactions and in its desert. Possessed, in both cases, of moderate means, Doctor Draper left to it his homestead and his splendid library, while Doctor Thwaites bequeathed the sum of $10,000. The example set by these men, and by Colonel and Mrs. Hollister, Mrs. Adams, and others, should be imitated more widely by the members and friends of the Society. Many of them are in affluent circumstances; most of them are at least moderately supplied with this world's goods. All of them testify, through their membership in the Society, that they believe it to be engaged in a worthy work. If any doubt that it is waging this work worthily and efficiently the opportunity will be welcomed by the executive head of the Society to demonstrate to them that their doubt is not supported by the facts. The experimental stage in the conduct of our affairs has long since been passed. The Society points to a record of full two generations of strikingly successful achievement, the measure of whose success has been limited only by the means placed at its disposal. All around, at the present moment, lies a field rich with possibilities for cultivation and development. To point these remarks with a single concrete illustration, a hard-headed Chicago banker a few years ago gave a quarter of a million dollars in order

that the riches of the Field Museum might be constantly sent on circuit to the various schools of the city. We, too, have a splendid Museum. It is not the equal in size or richness of collections of the Field Museum, but its administration is no less efficient and progressive. Under present conditions but an insignificant fraction of the children of Wisconsin are in position to gain instruction and entertainment from it. Why should not we in Wisconsin afford our own children opportunity for enjoying the collections of our Historical Museum equal to that enjoyed by the children of Chicago, all of whom, be it noted, live within a few miles of the Field Museum? It will scarcely be questioned that Norman W. Harris knew the value of a dollar and placed his money only after the wisdom of the proposed investment had been conclusively demonstrated. If he was convinced of the advantage of devoting a quarter of a million dollars to the cause we have noted what room is left to question the wisdom of a similar investment for the benefit of the children of Wisconsin. It may perhaps occur to some to ask why the Historical Society, in the main a State-supported institution, needs, or should ask, the benefactions of private individuals. The sufficient answer is that many things, desirable to do, may be accomplished with privately donated funds which can not be done with the money appropriated by the State. For example, the great and growing usefulness of the photostat in connection with our work has been noted earlier in this report. Under the regulations which prevail with respect to the use of State funds it would be impossible to perform this work for patrons of the Library. Only through the fact that our photostat was purchased, and the supplies for its operation are procured, with money taken from the Society's private funds can the work in question be carried on. Speaking more generally, although the State is reasonably

liberal, on the whole, in its support of the Society, it does not now supply, and may probably never reasonably be expected to supply, funds adequate to the entering upon many lines of work in our general field which it is highly desirable should be cultivated. The fact that parks are commonly municipal enterprises does not prevent individuals from giving freely of their money for park purposes, nor, likewise, has the State support of the University prevented the making of liberal private benefactions to it. These institutions are in precisely the same situation, with respect to the matter under discussion, as is the State Historical Society. That more of its friends will be regardful of its interests, if not in their lifetime at least when they come to make their wills, as were Doctor Draper, Doctor Thwaites, Senator Burrows, and others, is a desideratum greatly to be wished.

In preceding reports some consideration has been given to the archives situation in Wisconsin and, along with this, to the approaching need of additional space to house the ever-growing collections of the Society. Last year, at the superintendent's suggestion, an Archives Committee was appointed to take under consideration these subjects. Considerable information has been collected during the year concerning the archives situation in other states, in many of which far more intelligent and enlightened treatment is accorded the State archives than in Wisconsin. Further investigation and consideration must be given the subject before any definite recommendations for action can be made. It is the expectation of the committee that a comprehensive report will be prepared for printing, with a view to putting in form for convenient reference all the facts and considerations pertinent to the subject.

On behalf of the Executive Committee,

M. M. Quaife, *Superintendent*

Treasurer's Report

Statement of Condition of State Historical Society July 1, 1916

Assets:		
Cash		$2,419.35
Mortgages		104,700.00
Real Estate		580.54
		$107,699.89
Distributed as follows:		
General and Binding Fund	$40,054.21	
Antiquarian Fund	20,834.78	
Draper Fund	12,945.22	
Mary M. Adams Art Fund	5,649.28	
Anna R. Sheldon Memorial Fund	1,810.08	
Special Book Fund	1,215.71	
Hollister Pharmaceutical Fund	13,993.36	
Reuben G. Thwaites Portrait Fund	100.00	
Emily House Fund	544.94	
Reuben G. Thwaites Fund	10,552.31	
		$107,699.89

General and Binding Fund

Treasurer, Dr.		
½ Annual dues	$408.00	
½ Life membership fees	60.00	
½ Sale of duplicates	119.14	
M. M. Quaife (check not used)	50.00	
Share of interest	2,009.98	
		$2,647.12
Treasurer, Cr.		
M. M. Quaife, miscellaneous bills	$50.00	
Rent of safe deposit box	10.00	
Mississippi Valley Historical Association, books	200.00	
Librarian of Congress, books	50.00	

R. C. Nicodemus, surety bond	37.50	
Register of deeds, recording mortgages	1.50	
Thwaites Portrait Fund	477.06	
L. S. Hanks, services	150.00	
Annie A. Nunns, services	666.67	
J. F. Jameson, books	50.00	
St. Paul taxes	13.77	
Ellis B. Usher, travel expenses	40.00	
Commercial Camera Co., supplies	157.12	
Express charges on bonds	2.00	
Frederick Merk, services	9.66	
Balance to Binding Fund	731.84	
		$2,647.12

General and Binding Fund

Treasurer, Dr.		
Old balance	$39,322.37	
Balance from income	731.84	
New balance		$40,054.21

Antiquarian Fund

Treasurer, Dr.		
½ Annual Dues	$408.00	
½ Life membership fees	60.00	
½ Sale of duplicates	119.19	
Share of interest	1,022.80	
		$1,609.99
Treasurer, Cr.		
J. S. W. Pardee, Museum exhibits	$40.00	
C. E. Brown, services	400.00	
Martin Lyons, services	210.00	
Alice Whitney, services	90.00	
Balance to Antiquarian Fund	869.99	
		1,609.99

Antiquarian Fund

Treasurer, Dr.		
Old balance	$19,964.79	
Balance from income	869.99	
New balance		$20,834.78

Draper Fund

Treasurer, Dr.		
Balance	$12,732.36	
Sale of duplicates	33.50	
Share of interest	649.36	
		$13,415.22
Treasurer, Cr.		
Ferne Congdon, services	$195.00	
Mabel C. Weaks, services	275.00	
Balance to Draper Fund	$12,945.22	
		$13,415.22

Mary M. Adams Art Fund

Treasurer, Dr.		
Balance	$5,429.04	
Share of interest	248.81	
		$5,677.85
Treasurer, Cr.		
Foster Brothers, pictures	$28.57	
Balance to Adams Art Fund	5,649.28	
		$5,677.85

Anna R. Sheldon Memorial Fund

Treasurer, Dr.		
Balance	$1,737.97	
Share of interest	86.51	
		$1,824.48
Treasurer, Cr.		
Ritter & Flebbe, books	$14.40	
Balance to Sheldon Fund	1,810.08	
		$1,824.48

Hollister Pharmaceutical Library Fund

Treasurer, Dr.		
Balance	$11,497.61	
From Hollister Estate	1,949.24	
Share of interest	589.24	
		$14,036.09
Treasurer, Cr.		
½ Taxes on Lot 11, Block 228	$42.73	
Balance to Hollister Fund	13,993.36	
		$14,036.09

Treasurer's Report

Reuben G. Thwaites Portrait Fund

Treasurer, Dr.		
From General and Binding Fund	$477.06	
Gift	100.00	
		$577.06
Treasurer, Cr.		
Balance	$477.06	
Balance to Thwaites Portrait Fund	100.00	
		$577.06

Emily House Fund

Treasurer, Dr.		
Balance	$519.49	
Share of interest	25.45	
New balance		$544.94

Reuben G. Thwaites Fund

Treasurer, Dr.		
Balance	$10,264.14	
Share of interest	528.17	
		$10,792.31
Treasurer, Cr.		
John A. Moran, books	$240.00	
Balance to Thwaites Fund	10,552.31	
		$10,792.31

Reports of Local Auxiliary Societies

During the year movements looking to the organization of local historical societies have been under way in several localities, notably La Crosse and Black River Falls. No formal report as to progress made has been received, however. Several of the Societies previously in existence have either failed to send in any report or have reported that no meetings have been held during the year. The several reports which have been submitted follow:

GREEN BAY

At the regular March meeting of the Green Bay Historical Society plans for the appropriate celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of Fort Howard and the raising of the American flag over the first permanent military post established in the Northwest Territory (Mackinac excepted) were discussed.

Fort Howard was located here August 7, 1816 on the site of the old French Fort St. Frances, and the later English Fort Edward Augustus. No definite form of observance of this anniversary was decided upon, but it was planned as part of any proposed ceremonies to erect and dedicate a Liberty Pole on the courthouse lawn, inviting the State Historical Society and local historical organizations throughout this part of the county to participate.

The Society has had a committee, appointed last year, at work accumulating funds for the purchase and erection of a steel pole 125 feet in height, and has already obtained the consent of the County Board to place it on the courthouse lawn. It was reported by the Rev. James F. Kieb, chairman of this committee, that $350 had already been secured. The question of erecting a lattice or straight pole was discussed, but it was finally left to the decision of the committee. Either would cost about $550, according to prices obtained last winter. The committee was instructed to continue the canvass for funds and secure later estimates of cost. It was subsequently ascertained by the committee, that in consequence of the enormous advance in the price of steel, the pole would cost approximately $1,000 and even at that price no definite agreement could be obtained from any manufacturer that it would be delivered in time. The celebration could not, therefore, be held as planned, but it is only temporarily abandoned.

William Luckenbach presented the request of the Green Bay Art Club for the coöperation and assistance of the Historical Society in the establishment of a permanent museum in Green Bay. He stated that the Club had already obtained the consent of the Library Board to use the assembly room in the Public Library until a separate building, the ultimate aim of the Club, could be erected for the purpose.

A resolution was thereupon adopted heartily approving the plan and pledging the support and coöperation of this Society in the movement.

J. C. Thurman, appointed at the last meeting to investigate, reported that no place could be obtained in the courthouse for a museum. Miss Kelleher brought up the question of having a monument commemorative of the Jesuit

missionaries and Nicolas Perrot, the first governor of the Northwest, placed on the lawn of the Public Library, and requested that a committee be appointed by the president, of which he should be a member, to confer with artists and secure designs and estimates of cost. Miss Kelleher also submitted a tentative design by Sydney Bedore, a former Green Bay boy, now a pupil of Lorado Taft at the Art Institute in Chicago. The design consists of a life-size figure of Father Allouez, the first noted missionary to visit this part of the country in 1669, of Nicolas Perrot, first governor of the Northwest Territory, and of an Indian chief—a very attractive and well-designed group. The president appointed as such committee, Miss Kelleher, Miss Fredericka Crane, and Rev. Joseph A. Marx.

Six applicants were admitted to membership—Judge Henry Grasse, Dr. and Mrs. R. C. Buchanan, Mrs. Lucy Hall, and Mrs. George H. Rice. Bishop Paul P. Rhode was by special resolution made an honorary member.

Miss Sarah G. Martin of the Landmarks Committee reported that two historical tablets had been erected during the year. One, on the site of the dwelling and trading house of Augustin and Charles de Langlade, the first permanent settlers of Wisconsin, was erected by the Woman's Club of Green Bay. The Jean Nicolet Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution also placed a marker on the grave of John Dousman in Allouez Cemetery. Mr. Dousman was one of the very early pioneers of De Pere, and one of the very few who remained loyal to the United States during the War of 1812.

During the year the death of three prominent members of the Society has occurred—Maj. Julian Wisner Hinkley, Mrs. Dorr Clark, and Mrs. Thomas Joannes. The following brief memorial notices are offered:

Maj. Julian Wisner Hinkley was the author of "A Narrative of Service with the Third Wisconsin Infantry," published by the Wisconsin History Commission in 1912, and was a most enthusiastic member and pilgrim, never missing a meeting or pilgrimage.

Mrs. Dorr Clark (Alberta Robinson) was the daughter of Albert Robinson, one of the founders of the Green Bay *Advocate* in 1846, and was the granddaughter of Randall Wilcox, a prominent pioneer settler of De Pere. Mrs. Clark was always a deeply interested member of the Society and an earnest worker in behalf of its progress and welfare. After a lingering illness her death occurred September 25, 1916.

Mrs. Thomas Joannes (Emma Heath), who died quite suddenly on November 8, 1916, was a most efficient member, and did much to aid the Society in securing funds for the several tablets erected by it.

ARTHUR C. NEVILLE, *President*

LAFAYETTE COUNTY

We have had no meetings except the annual one in November, and no papers have been read; nor do we expect any will be at any future meeting. This county was so well written up by Percival, Meeker, Hamilton, Dodge, Ladd, Bracken, Dunn, Cothren, Strong, the Gratiots, Parkinsons, and others that we expect no new papers.

About fifty books and some important pamphlets have been added to the Library. Among them are the following: *The Jefferson-Lemen Compact on Slavery;* Helper's *Impending Crisis;* Trial of the Lincoln Assassination Conspirators; *Proceedings* of our County Board for 1855; Official canvass of the county vote in 1860; the Darlington

Argus for 1860; the *Lafayette County Independent* for 1864; the *Ulster County Gazette* for January 4, 1800, draped for the death of George Washington; *Lady's Repository* for 1855; *Proceedings* of the Old Settlers Society, with names, date, and place of birth, and date of coming to the county of hundreds of early settlers; secretary's book of our military company from June, 1884 to 1898; a scrap book of sketches of Lafayette County; sketches of Wisconsin during the Civil War; Biographical Record of prominent citizens and early settlers of southwestern Wisconsin; a book of travels by a resident of the county; a book printed in 1702; forty volumes of agricultural reports; fourteen pamphlets on Indian mounds; the private papers of Capt. C. M. Waring; and a number of publications from Washington and Madison.

The museum has received many donations; among others a carding machine, sewing machine, scales, and flatiron, all over one hundred years old; a magazine rifle of 1875; collection of Indian pottery; gunflints from Fort Hamilton; revolver, carried by Capt. John E. Kleven in the Civil War; old-fashioned sand sprinkler; old-fashioned tooth puller; early type of coffee mill; money belts, used by Forty-niners; shot bag and powderhorn; skin of diamond rattlesnake; and Indian arrows, wedges, and other articles.

H. H. Moe has presented to the Society a number of mounted native birds. We have also added a large picture of the schools and churches of the county in 1916; portraits of William Henry Harrison, Daniel O'Connell, James G. Monahan, Bert Whitman, and Patrick Burke, and last, but not least, the Whitman collection of minerals and curios.

It is gratifying to report the largest membership in the life of the Society.

P. H. Conley, *President*

SAUK COUNTY

Within the past year the members of the Sauk County Historical Society have enjoyed four successful gatherings of a varied nature, and during this time several new members have been taken into the Society.

The regular annual meeting was held on October 22, 1915, at which time the officers of the Society were elected for the ensuing year, the officers of the preceding year being reëlected. Several committees were also appointed at this meeting. After the business session Hon. Emil Baensch of Manitowoc, president of the State Historical Society, gave an able address on "The Germans in Colonial Times." He stated that commerce and emigration brought many Germans to America and told of the large part they played in the early history of this country. He said that while Germany had no part in the discovery of America, one of her professors, Martin Waldseemüller, gave the New World its name. Germany sent more people to America than did any other country of continental Europe. The speaker stated that his investigations showed abundant evidence of the Germans locating in New England. The character of these immigrants was discussed, their deep religious sentiment was touched upon, their educational work was mentioned, and the character of some of the strong personalities was analyzed. Mr. Baensch's address manifested clearly that he had given the subject much thought and wide research, and at the close of his remarks a vote of thanks was given the speaker, and all spoke in the highest terms of the way in which he had developed the subject.

At the second meeting of the society, held on March 17 of this year, some of the horrors of the European war were described by B. J. Johnson, who was visiting in Baraboo. Mr. Johnson spent five years in France in-

cluding the period since the war began. He represented a farm-implement manufacturing firm and had every opportunity of getting information at first-hand. The speaker described the excitement at the French capital and told of the German retreat after the Teutonic forces had reached a point within twelve miles of Paris. He said the slaughter was appalling and told of the burned villages and other evidences of destruction he saw after the battle of the Marne. He described conditions as they now exist in the warring country and said that the French were confident of winning the war.

On April 7 the members of the Sauk County Historical Society enjoyed a social occasion at the home of Hon. and Mrs. Frank Avery. Supper had been arranged by a committee of the Society and between forty and fifty persons enjoyed the repast. Several short papers were read, among them one by Mrs. E. V. Alexander, who taught school in a log building at Ableman, Sauk County, in the pioneer days of the village. She gave her recollections of that time. V. S. Pease read a portion of a paper entitled "The Vegetable Foods of the American Indians," by Dr. A. B. Stout of New York, one of the founders and a charter member of the Society. A paper on "Old Time Amusements," read by Mrs. I. H. Palmer, brought out the fact that in the days of pioneers there was plenty to amuse, and that the people of those days enjoyed life in as full a measure as do those of the present day.

On Labor Day, September 4, 1916, members of the Wisconsin Archeological Society and the Sauk County Historical Society met at Devils Lake State Park and unveiled a bronze tablet on the big bird mound at Kirkland. The tablet was the gift of H. E. Cole, president of the Sauk County Historical Society. Charles E. Brown of Madison, secretary of the Wisconsin Archeological

Society, presided. The main address of the occasion was made by William Dawson of Madison, who told of the departed race. The tablet was unveiled by Miss Izero English. Frank B. Moody of Madison, a member of the State Conservation Commission, told of the work being done by the State to acquire parks. Dr. M. M. Quaife, superintendent and secretary of the State Historical Society, advised those without a hobby to take up the study of history or archeology. S. E. Lathrop of Madison told of visiting Devils Lake as a young man, forty-six years ago. Secretary Brown closed the meeting by telling of some of the unusual mounds in the State.

The tablet bears an image of a bird and the following inscription:

Bird Mound
Erected by the
Prehistoric Indian Inhabitants
of this Region
Surveyed by W. H. Canfield
In About the Year 1875
Wing Spread About 240 Feet
Length of Body 115 Feet
Marked by
The Wisconsin Archeological Society
and the
Sauk County Historical Society
August 1916

As usual, the historical exhibit at the Sauk County Fair was interesting and attracted much attention.

The officers of the Society during the year were:

President, H. E. Cole, Baraboo.

Vice-presidents, Mrs. J. G. Train, Baraboo; George J. Seamans, Reedsburg; E. D. Ochsner, Prairie du Sac.

Secretary, H. K. Page, Baraboo.

Treasurer, Mrs. Edward V. Alexander, Baraboo.

H. K. Page, *Secretary*

TREMPEALEAU COUNTY

The regular annual meeting of the Trempealeau County Historical Society was held at the Village Hall Tuesday evening, November 14, 1916. Pres. James N. Hunter called the meeting to order. E. F. Hensel was appointed secretary in place of Judge Anderson who was unable to attend on account of illness. The Whitehall High School orchestra played two selections which were greatly enjoyed by the members of the Society. The secretary's report was then read. It showed the acquisition of a large number of articles of interest collected during the past year. In the absence of Franklyn Curtiss Wedge, Secretary Hensel made a few remarks.

The ladies' quartette, consisting of Mmes. Melby, Jacobsen, Hensel, and Sletteland, Miss Fern Anderson accompanist, favored the audience with a song, which was greatly appreciated and heartily encored.

The principal address of the evening was delivered by Dr. M. M. Quaife, superintendent of the State Historical Society. He gave an explanation of the workings of the State Society and the coöperation between it and the county societies, and showed the way in which the study of history could be made pleasurable as well as interesting. He complimented the local Society on its progress, and pointed out a few ways in which it might be improved still more. He closed with a well-deserved tribute to Increase Allen Lapham, the first scientist in the State to attain prominence.

Four members of our Society have passed away since the 1915 meeting, namely: C. Q. Gage, Frank Bender, J. B. Beach, and John Nichols. The president appointed committees to prepare and present to the Society appropriate memorials on the life and character of the deceased

members. The chair appointed the committees as follows: C. Q. Gage, O. J. Eggum; Frank Bender, E. F. Clark; John Nichols, P. K. Risberg; J. B. Beach, H. A. Anderson.

John A. Latsch, a member of the Society who lives at Winona, was present and, after the close of the meeting, met with the members to discuss his proposed gift of Trempealeau mountain and park to the State for park purposes.

At an adjourned session held at the courthouse November 15, 1916, at 8 o'clock P. M., the following officers were elected: President, James N. Hunter; vice-presidents, E. F. Clark and Peter Nelton; secretary, H. A. Anderson; treasurer, F. C. Richmond; executive committee, E. F. Hensel, J. A. Markham, and P. H. Johnson.

E. F. Hensel, *Secretary pro tem.*

WAUKESHA COUNTY

The Waukesha County Historical Society has held two meetings during the year. The tenth annual meeting was held at Waukesha on the sixth of May, and the September meeting at St. John's Military Academy on Friday, September 1.

The following officers were elected in May:

President, Mrs. H. B. Edwards, Eagle.

Vice-presidents, Charles D. Simonds, Milwaukee; Lauren Barker, Brookfield; F. B. Jacques, Delafield; Marvin Bovie, Eagle; F. E. Tichenor, Waukesha; L. E. Youmans, Mukwonago.

Secretary, Miss Julia A. Lapham, Oconomowoc.

Treasurer, Mrs. Molly Maurer Kartak, Oconomowoc.

Advisory Committee, W. H. Stockman, Mukwonago; Mrs. H. M. Youmans, Waukesha; Mrs. Virginia Alden Brewster, Delafield.

Custodian, J. H. A. Lacher, Waukesha.

The retiring president, James A. McKenzie, in a few well-chosen words expressed his appreciation of the courtesy accorded him throughout his term of office and received in reply a rising vote of thanks for his unfailing efforts for the success of the Society.

The Cushing Monument Committee made its final report and asked to be discharged. On motion of the chairman and treasurer of the committee, O. P. Clinton, the balance of cash on hand was turned over to the treasurer of the Society to be held as a Monument Fund.

The report of the committee on the preservation of Indian mounds in the town of Summit was accepted. It indicated that nothing can be done in the matter at the present time.

A committee, composed of Miss Anna Slawson, W. H. Stockman, and Charles D. Simonds, was appointed to draft resolutions in memory of members who have passed away during the year.

A letter was read from Mrs. William B. Cushing and two from Sir Gilbert Parker; the latter is sending the Society a series of books and pamphlets relating to the war.

Mrs. G. W. Carleton, Miss Anna Slawson, and M. L. Snyder were appointed a committee to select a suitable inscription for the historic cannon in Cutler Park.

A tribute was given to Dr. I. A. Lapham by J. H. A. Lacher, who asked the endorsement of the Society in placing an inscribed boulder on the peak known as Government Hill and asking the United States government to change the name to Lapham Peak. The endorsement was given, and the matter placed in the hands of a committee consisting of Messrs. Lacher, Snyder, and Simonds.

The custodian reported many additions to the collection in the Historical Society Room in the courthouse.

It was suggested by Mr. Simonds that a historian and committee of one member from each town in the county be appointed to gather and record present-day as well as past history of the county and report at the regular meetings of the Society. A motion to this effect was made and carried, and the following members were appointed: Mrs. N. B. Edwards, Eagle; Mrs. G. W. Carleton, Waukesha; Mrs. G. W. Hudson, Vernon; E. Beaumont, Merton; W. H. Stockman, Mukwonago; Frank Clark, Pewaukee; D. J. Thompson, Oconomowoc; Mrs. Clara Kells, Delafield.

The following program was then given:

Duet, Misses Nina Belle Smith and Howard.
Reminiscences, W. W. Gilbert (who left the town of Delafield in 1843).
Vocal solo, Miss Emma Gredler.
Reminiscences of a Pioneer, W. W. Calkins.

After singing "America" the meeting closed with a visit to the Society's collection in the courthouse.

Friday afternoon, September 1, 1916, about 200 members and guests of the Waukesha County Historical Society assembled in the gymnasium of St. John's Military Academy, Delafield, for the twentieth meeting of the Society. After the singing of Auld Lang Syne and approval of the minutes of the preceding meeting the report of the committee appointed to draft memorial resolutions was read. Eight members have passed away during the year.

The chairman of the committee on changing the name of Government Hill to Lapham Peak, J. H. A. Lacher, reported that the United States Geographic Board had, in response to the petition sent, made the change in recognition of the services of Doctor Lapham to Wisconsin. Letters were read from our senators and repre-

sentatives. The committee was authorized to arrange for a suitable inscription and boulder to be placed on the peak, the expense to be paid from the Monument Fund of the Society.

The custodian reported about thirty donations to the collections since the last meeting. Mrs. Edwards spoke of several collections of photographs of pioneers that were being made for the Society and of their increasing interest and value as the years go by. She thought the effort should be made to secure as many as possible before it is too late. Mr. Stockman moved that greetings and good wishes be sent to our former president, James A. McKenzie, who was too ill to attend the meeting. Letters were read from a pioneer now living in Minneapolis, and a former member now living in Los Angeles, Dan L. Camp; both conveyed greetings to the members of the Society.

The first paper on the program was on "The Systematic Recording of Events," by Charles D. Simonds of Milwaukee. The Recessional was sung by Miss Janet Kunz, with Miss Hearding as accompanist. A. O. Barton of Madison read a paper on "The Early Norwegian Settlement on Muskego Lake," and William Kunz sang "The Postillion."

The president stated the objects and aims of the Society, the duties, financial and otherwise, of the members, and invited anyone wishing to join to do so. Four names were presented to be voted on in May. A vote of thanks was given to Mr. Barton for his paper and to all who had done so much for the success of the meeting. After singing "America" the Society adjourned to the dining room of the Academy where a luncheon was served by the people of Delafield.

JULIA A. LAPHAM, *Secretary*

Historical Papers

Contributors of Historical Papers

Capt. Arthur L. Conger, U. S. A. ("President Lincoln as War Statesman"), has been for some years an instructor in the Army Service Schools at Fort Leavenworth. He is a widely-recognized authority in the field of military history and, jointly with Professor Johnston of Harvard, is founder and editor of *The Military Historian and Economist.* In active service on the Mexican border throughout the summer, Captain Conger obtained leave of absence and made the long journey from distant Brownsville expressly to deliver this address before the Society.

Prof. Joseph B. Thoburn ("The Career of Nathaniel Pryor"), instructor in history in the University of Oklahoma, is a native of Ohio who grew to manhood and has spent most of his life in Kansas. For many years a newspaper writer, about a decade ago he turned his attention to work in the field of western history and three years ago was called to his present position. He is the author of a popular history of Oklahoma now in process of publication.

The career of Father Chrysostom Verwyst ("Reminiscenses of a Pioneer Missionary") is sufficiently set forth in the paper he has contributed. Earlier articles from his pen published by the Society have been "Geographical Names Having a Chippewa Origin" (published in volume XII of the *Collections*) and "Historic Sites in Chequamegon Bay" (in volume XIII of the *Collections*).

Albert Olaus Barton ("The Beginnings of the Norwegian Press in America") is a resident of Madison and

a newspaper editor of long experience who has devoted much attention to the history of his nationality in the United States.

William C. Cochran ("The Dream of a Northwestern Confederacy") is clerk of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals at Cincinnati. An industrious worker in the field of American history, for several years he has spent several weeks of each summer at Madison, working in the Society's collection of newspapers.

Publius V. Lawson ("Mary Elizabeth Mears: 'Nellie Wildwood' "), a prominent citizen and manufacturer of Menasha, is the author of a life of Gov. James D. Doty, a history of Winnebago County, and of numerous monographs on historical, legal, and archeological subjects. Three of his historical studies have been published in earlier volumes of the Society's *Proceedings*—"The Habitat of the Winnebago, 1632–1832," in 1906; "The Invention of the Roller Flour Mill," in 1907; and "Papermaking in Wisconsin," in 1909.

Dr. William F. Whyte ("The Watertown Railway Bond Fight"), a resident of Madison and president of the State Board of Health, contributed to last year's *Proceedings* an account of "The Settlement of the Town of Lebanon, Dodge County." A brief characterization of Dr. Whyte's career was given in that volume.

Newton H. Culver ("Brevet Major Isaac N. Earl: a Noted Scout of the Department of the Gulf") is a resident of Soldiers Home, California. He served in Company C, Fourth Cavalry, during the Civil War and, later, on special service with Major Earl's command of scouts. His paper, a tribute to his youthful commander, is drawn chiefly from Civil War diaries and other contemporary manuscript records in his possession.

President Lincoln as War Statesman

By Captian Arthur Latham Conger, U. S. A.

The farther we recede from the era of our great civil strife, the more colossal stands out the figure of Abraham Lincoln upon the dim perspective.[1]

All authorities agree with Swinton that an incredible incoherence, largely the work of intrigues, cabals, and political imbecility of the vote-catching charlatans, prevailed in the management of the war.[2]

His [Lincoln's] "ignorance of statesmanship directing arms" was very great; and his errors were very numerous.[3]

There exists a divergence of expressed views regarding President Lincoln as war statesman that must be indeed baffling to him who has neither the time nor the equipment to form an independent judgment. Mr. Lincoln is not without his admirers and defenders, but the chief among these, his war-time secretaries, Nicolay and Hay, possess no great competence in military matters and besides, their avowed policy of being "Lincoln men all through,"[4] has perhaps weakened the force of their arguments. Among the books commonly classified as military histories we see a large number, dwindling as we approach the present, reflecting the view of Lincoln's war-time political opponents, that he is a vacillating

[1] James Schouler, *History of America under the Constitution* (New York, 1894–1913), VI, 1.

[2] T. M. Maguire, *The Campaign in Virginia* (London, 1908), 23.

[3] G. F. R. Henderson, *Stonewall Jackson and the American Civil War* (London, 1900), II, 334.

[4] William Roscoe Thayer, *Life of John Hay* (Boston, 1915), II, 33.

CAPTAIN ARTHUR L. CONGER, U. S. A.

imbecile, at least in military matters; another group, smaller but growing in size, represent Lincoln as having had a positive and willful influence upon the course of the war, but a misguided and pernicious one, owing to his combined ignorance and conceit.

The views of these professedly military histories, mingled in varying proportions, we find swallowed whole by the writers of many general histories who repeat, parrot-like, jibes against Lincoln's imbecile vacillation or bull-headed blundering, as the case may be, without attempting to understand or to analyze the points under discussion. Amid all this harsh condemnation the singular fact stands out that the common people, in whose good sense and judgment Lincoln so firmly trusted, have returned the compliment; they have not only refused to accept the quips of the captious critics but, on the contrary, as James Schouler so aptly puts it, see "more colossal" as time recedes, the figure of Abraham Lincoln, towering above his contemporaries.

In venturing to approach the subject of Lincoln as war statesman, it is not with any claim to present any freshly discovered evidence, nor yet to pit the writer's dicta against the conclusions of others, but rather to point out the scientific method which must be employed in dealing with the subject if we are to obtain a truthful and a fruitful product. That method is to resolve the subject, for the purposes of investigation, not in the first instance chronologically into a series of events, but into its real constituent elements. We need to examine separately Lincoln's strategical conceptions, his tactical decisions, his orders, his combining of land and sea operations, his decisions in regard to the size of armies in their relation to public opinion, finance, and acts of Congress, his dealing with the problem of military organiza-

tion, his choice of military leaders, his handling of public opinion and of foreign affairs in their relation to the military operations, and lastly the *tout ensemble* of all these which we may denote by the convenient expression "conduct of war." Further, on all these questions we must not stop at the mere decisions, we need also to inquire into the manner of their execution, the framing of the orders and their conveyance, and into the personal relationships both in their outward and in their inner or psychological effects.

Very many have approached the subject not only with a false method but with a lack of proper equipment: without a working knowledge of the principles of historical criticism; or without the necessary technical and professional knowledge of military affairs; or without the required breadth of view. We need to remember constantly, in dealing with the evidence, that Lincoln was, besides President, the leader of a political party, that as such he was, both personally and in his official capacity, the target for all sorts of abuse and vituperation, and that all his acts were called into question and misinterpreted with all the cleverness his political opponents could muster. We need to recall always, in judging the wisdom of a measure, that its success or failure is not, as is often assumed, the correct test of its soundness or appropriateness. Wise measures usually win the game in the long run, yet in the particular instance the bungling measure may turn the trick. Our decision on the matter must depend rather on whether the measure in question was correct in view of the situation as it appeared at that time, with all its uncertainties and difficulties, not on whether it proved correct in the light of after events, nor yet in view of the wider grasp of the situation which the historian easily obtains.

In dealing with the Civil War we need also to bear in mind that it was not, like so many wars, one over some relatively trivial matter, a dispute over a boundary or a province, or to satisfy some grievance, but one in which absolute conquest was sought on the one side, while on the other the people were willing to endure every sacrifice so long as by so doing there was any possible chance of winning their independence. Very few of the wars of history are of that character and I know of no other war of the sort in which the decision was gained with so few odds on the winning side.[1]

Needless to say, in this presentation of the subject I can attempt nothing final or conclusive; it is only possible within the scope of this paper to point the way and state some conclusions gathered in the course of many years' research in Civil War campaigns.

The first problem of war statesmanship is: Who began the Civil War? with its corollaries: Were the moment and the means well chosen? It is notable that the situation on Lincoln's inauguration differed in no material way from that of forty days later when the torch was applied to the magazine of public opinion. The Federal forts, arsenals, offices, and funds had already been seized by the Confederate states, the Union flag had before been fired upon when the Star of the West attempted to supply Fort Sumter. A Confederate government had been organized and a Confederate president was exercising the functions of his office.

The popular views held, that the South provoked the

[1] We easily recall how we gained the decision over the British in the Revolutionary War, which was of this class, against infinitely greater odds. Napoleon in all his European wars did not attempt the overthrow of any main government, except that of Spain, and in that instance he was ingloriously beaten, though the odds in his favor were vastly greater, in a military way, than were those of the Union government against the Confederate.

war, or that the two severed parts of the country naturally or inevitably drifted into war, are, I believe, a mistake. Nearly every great statesman has made war when he chose, where he chose, and in a manner to cast the onus on the other side. Bismarck, with his publication of the Ems dispatch, did not with greater firmness or precision choose the moment and the means to bring about the fateful war of 1870, than did Lincoln in his message of April 6 to Governor Pickens, notifying him "to expect an attempt will be made to supply Fort Sumter."[1] True it is that the South struck the first blow, but Lincoln spoke the word that provoked the blow, quietly, with dignity, in an irreproachable manner and, it seems to me, with full knowledge and intent of the consequences.

Let us inquire if it could have been done sooner. Forty days before, Mr. Lincoln had been the leader of the "Black Republican" party and a minority president-elect. During these forty days he had become, in the popular conception and with vastly added prestige, the President of the United States. He had organized his cabinet, secured the reins of government, gained a knowledge of the powers of his office and how to employ them, and, what was equally important, a knowledge of its limitations. He had gained further a mental grasp of the situation, in all its varied complexity, without which the firm and decisive measures following the firing upon Sumter would not have been possible.

On the other hand we must ask if the situation admitted of further temporizing. When we realize that the Sumter garrison would have been compelled, through starvation, to evacuate or surrender when it did in any event, and recall the apathy of the northern states towards

[1] J. G. Nicolay and John Hay (eds.), *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1894), II, 32.

secession and the violent opposition on the part of the border states to the employment of any coercive military measures which prevailed at the time, we cannot fail to recognize how fatal to the Union cause would have been the degradation of suffering in silence the loss of Sumter and continuing further the dawdling policy which had been inherited from Buchanan. Certainly the moment was well chosen, and as we study the records of the cabinet discussions of the time we see that it was peculiarly of President Lincoln's own choosing.[1]

How well the means were adapted to the purpose, not only of initiating the waging of the war to restore the Union, but of unifying at the start public sentiment in the northern states and of driving back into the northern fold all the border states it was possible to save, and with what added effect the proclamation calling out the militia was made to appear in the same issue of the papers which conveyed to the people the tidings of the fall of Sumter, needs no comment here.[2]

The war once begun, the task devolved upon the President as constitutional commander-in-chief of the army and navy of choosing a strategic plan of action. Mr. Lincoln knew nothing of military art or of the science of strategy, but he had the advantage of approaching the subject with a trained, logical, and unbiassed mind. Under the circumstances he had to seek advice and it was perhaps as fortunate for the cause of the Union that the best advice was at hand as it was that he possessed the capacity to understand and follow it. None the less must we admire foremost his ability to distinguish be-

[1] See *Diary of Gideon Wells* (Boston, 1911); R. B. Warden, *Account of private life etc. of S. P. Chase* (Cincinnati, 1874); J. G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: a history* (New York, 1890), IV; *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*, II.

[2] See J. G. Blaine, *Twenty Years in Congress* (Norwich, Conn., 1884), I, 273, 296.

tween the true and the myriad will-o-the-wisp strategical proposals presented to him, and his firm adherence to the strategic aims then chosen, consistently and logically to the end, in spite of the fact that his cabinet, many of his military advisers, the press, Congress, and the people, were carried away by all sorts of fatuous proposals.

The advice I refer to is that which became termed in derision "Scott's Anaconda." Space does not permit a discussion of Scott as a general, nor of how he came to formulate his plan; for the present it must suffice to point out briefly its merits and the fallacy of the storm of protests which doomed it temporarily to public scorn. Scott proposed:[1]

1. "A complete blockade of the Atlantic and Gulf ports."

2. An initial "powerful movement [to be undertaken about November 10] down the Mississippi to the ocean, * * * to clear out and keep open this great line of communication."

3. Thus "to envelop the insurgent states and bring them to terms with less bloodshed than by any other plan."

This plan was not in accord with the pedantic Jominian conceptions of the military literature of that era. These conceptions were stated in their *reductio ad absurdum* form, as applied to the Civil War, by a man named Schalk. According to Schalk,[2] and a good many others, it was the part of the contesting authorities to form one or two "main armies" which were to maneuver and fight a few decisive battles after which the two governments should agree on terms of peace, after the manner of Napoleon and Francis Joseph in 1805 and 1809. The

[1] Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, IV, 301.

[2] E. Schalk, *Campaigns of 1862 and 1863* (Phila., 1863).

difference between an ordinary war and a war of absolute conquest was beyond the conception of Schalk and of those who argued in the same vein.

Scott's plan, we must remember, was not a complete plan of action but a policy. Changing conditions, such as the shift of the Confederate capital to Richmond and the advance of Confederate armies to Manassas and Winchester, soon demanded seemingly radical changes; yet, as a policy, Lincoln adopted it and adhered to it throughout the war. This we see not only from his memoranda and utterances[1] but by his acts. Had he been duped by the "single effort" fallacy we should have seen the endeavor to create a huge army. As it was the blockade, to be made complete, had to have the efforts of the navy complemented by the capture of the harbor forts by military land forces. This was done, and done at the expense of the "main armies" and main campaigns. Had the "on to Richmond" cry been seriously adopted by Mr. Lincoln the obvious course would have been to sacrifice the coastal and Mississippi operations to ensure the success of the Virginia campaign. As it was, his first strong and decisive efforts were directed, in accordance with the Anaconda, to the reopening of the Mississippi.[2]

[1] A long list of references might be given in support of this statement but it is unnecessary since the student can easily find them himself in the *Complete Works*, and *War of the Rebellion: a compilation of the official records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880–1901), Ser. I–IV, 1–130. A few are mentioned by way of illustration. Memorandum of July 23, 1861, *Complete Works*, II, 68 (note: the passive policy in the East and the stress on the movements from Cairo down the Mississippi and from Cincinnati on East Tennessee). Memorandum of [October 1?] 1861, *ibid.*, 83. Letter to commander of Western Department, Oct. 24, 1861, *ibid.*, 86. Letter to Stanton, Jan. 24, 1862, *ibid.*, 118. General War Order No. 1, *ibid.*, 119. Letter Fox to Dupont, *Official Records*, XX, 436. Letter Stanton to Halleck, June 9, 1862, *id.*, X, 671. Letter Lincoln to Seward, June 28, 1862, *id.*, CXXIII, 179.

[2] In the matter of dates it is interesting to note that Scott proposed to begin the Mississippi campaign Nov. 10, 1861; the first blow in that theater was actually struck three days earlier by Grant at Belmont.

That the Confederate leadership did not soon enough grasp the decisive strategic factors in the war, but adopted the inapplicable Jominian theory, made Mr. Lincoln's accomplishment of his strategic aims the easier but it in no wise detracts from his clear-sighted conduct.

The merit of the plan was that it promised to break down and to destroy the military resistance of the South with the least possible friction: that is, loss of life and property and resultant bitterness. The South was not, economically, a self-sustaining community—in the matter of food, clothing, shoes, metal products, and manufactures—nor did it possess in its railroads, without the use of the coastal and river routes, the necessary arteries of trade; nor could it hope, without the ability to market abroad its great staple products, cotton and tobacco, to make good its deficiencies or to sustain its financial credit for the needs of the war.

If we consider what would have been the results of the Schalk application of the Jominian theory we must picture to ourselves a war lasting many years longer, of doubtful issue, demanding hundreds of thousands more men on the side of the North, and resulting in a ravaged and wasted country, frightful atrocities, reprisals, and unending bitterness. Even with the twenty to one odds which the British had over the Boers, and which we had over the Filipinos, this method, with its unavoidable burnings and destruction, with its concentration camps and their hardships and consequent wastage of life, was only able after several years of exceedingly painful work to bring peace, though the problem in both cases was far easier than the one the North would have had in the Civil War, had the subjugation of the South been undertaken on that basis.

Considered from the standpoint of the North the Scott plan was no less appropriate. The aims and economic

needs of the people of the central and northwestern states cut off as they were by the Confederacy's blocking of their main trade route, the Mississippi, could not be ignored. Had the troops of Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and even Ohio and Indiana, or the bulk of them, been thrown into the eastern theater, western enthusiasm for the war, and its moral and material support of it, would soon have languished.

As Nicolay and Hay so aptly say:[1] "Every war is begun, dominated, and ended by political considerations; without a nation, without a government, without money or credit, without popular enthusiasm which furnishes volunteers, or public support which endures conscription, there could be no army and no war—neither beginning nor end of methodical hostilities. War and politics, campaign and statecraft, are Siamese twins, inseparable and interdependent; to talk of military operations without the direction and interference of an Administration is as absurd as to plan a campaign without recruits, pay, or rations."

The same principle applied to the East, the aims, aspirations and needs of whose people had to be weighed as carefully as those of the western group. Had the mass of the troops drawn from the East been sent West to prosecute the Mississippi campaign, the support of the eastern group of states would likewise have faltered.[2] It was essential, as Mr. Lincoln evidently perceived, to

[1] Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, IV, 359.

[2] It is interesting to compare the percentages of volunteer troops raised (before the resort to conscription) in the various localities. The western and Mississippi states put much larger percentages of their military population into the field than did New York and Pennsylvania, while the latter sent a larger percentage than did New England. We see in this the results of the relatively greater efforts made in the West—the consequence of following the Anaconda plan—and the more immediately visible accomplishment of the political and military aims of the people of that section.

carry on the war in a manner to gratify the aims, so far as possible, of the people of every section, while not losing sight of the main issue and the central strategic thought. That the western efforts succeeded so easily while the Virginia campaign dragged so slowly must be ascribed in part to the fact that the military efforts of the Confederacy were more nearly—thus favoring the North's Mississippi and coastal operations—concentrated in the Virginia theater but mainly to the fact that the military talent of the day proved unequal to the task of handling and fighting the large armies which were brought face to face in the Virginia theater. This, rather than the accident of leadership, is the real explanation of the resulting deadlock between the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Northern Virginia.[1]

The further working out of the strategic plan was probably Mr. Lincoln's own; though he may have been aided by Scott who appears to have been, in the larger matters, his only trusted military adviser until Grant came to Washington in 1864. It consisted, first, in the recognition of the necessity of gaining the upper hand in the eastern theater, especially in northern Virginia, and second, in the determination to seize and hold eastern Tennessee for the purpose of cutting "a great artery of the enemy's communication,"[2] and rescuing a loyal people from the tyranny of the rebel government. Both purposes were entirely in harmony with the Anaconda

[1] These armies, from 1862 on, never fought a decisive battle. Fair Oaks, Gaines Mill, Frazier's Farm, Malvern Hill, Second Manassas, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Wilderness, Spottsylvania, Cold Harbor, Petersburg: in no other modern war is there any such list of half-hearted and drawn battles. In every case but one the attacker was either beaten or stood off, and if one side or the other retreated or drew away it was owing to the commander's having lost his nerve, or to some other reason, but not because his was a decisively beaten army.

[2] Lincoln to Buell, Jan. 6, 1862, *Official Records*, VII, 927.

idea. The first was a political necessity; the second constituted an objective easy of attainment—as was seen when Burnside occupied eastern Tennessee and sustained himself there in 1863—and most fruitful of results, since its loss virtually put an end to the Confederacy's ability to make war on an extensive scale in the West.[1] Further, the occupation of eastern Tennessee paved the way for a second penetration, or the closing of the coils of the Anaconda to the line Atlanta-Savannah, while the head of the serpent delivered its thrust to wrench away the last remaining coal and iron facilities at the disposal of the Confederacy about Richmond.

The strategic plan was simple enough, but the execution of it, in the absence of a trained army and trained generals and staff officers, and with all the popular clamor for action and speed to be expected in a country under a democratic form of government, was a more difficult and complex matter. Mr. Lincoln had often seemingly to give way to the popular wish but close examination shows that he always kept clearly in mind relative strategic values and adhered to his main purposes with a

[1] The present war, more nearly than any other, presents a situation parallel to that of the Civil War. On the side of the Allies we have seen the attempt throughout, but with ever increasing effectiveness, to blockade and cut off economically the Central Powers from the rest of the world. The attempt to open the Dardanelles, to give Russia an economic outlet and cut Turkey in twain, corresponds to the attempt to open the Mississippi and thereby restore the river trade route to the northwest. The affairs in the Balkans find their counterpart in the operations in Kentucky and Tennessee. But on the German side we find no such concentration of effort on the western front to the detriment of its operations in other theaters as the Confederates made in Virginia. Germany's initial seizure of the coal and iron country in Belguim and northern France would have found its parallel had the South, in 1861, seized and held the mining country of western Virginia and western Pennsylvania. Thus we see on Germany's side a thorough appreciation of, and preparations to meet, the pressure resulting from the adoption of the Anaconda policy by the Allies, and on the Allies' side a slower awakening to its possibilities: the German General Staff has not for nothing numbered among its members the keenest students of our Civil War campaigns.

firmness suggestive rather of a tyrant than of a president. So great was the outcry against even the name of the Anaconda that it soon dropped out of sight. The popular objection to it was that it was too slow, the public mind being unable to conceive that the safest and surest plan was bound to be also in the end the swiftest plan. After Bull Run, and especially after the varied excitements afforded by the campaigns of 1862, no one recalled it, except as a curious vagary of an old man supposed to be in his dotage, or realized that it had furnished Mr. Lincoln his guiding strategic thought in carrying on the war.

The first essential step was to secure the two strategic points vital for the execution of the plan, Cairo and Washington: Cairo as the necessary springboard for the Mississippi movement, Washington because without its possession the Union cause would become hopeless. The securing of both places received the prompt and earnest attention of the Union government. Soon after Sumter men and guns were rushed to Cairo[1] and even before

[1] Message of Governor Yates, *American Annual Cyclopedia, 1861* (New York, 1865), 368; Galloway to Walker, Bruce to Davis, Tate to Walker, *Official Records*, CX, 54, 66, 67.

Perhaps the most fatal misstep of the Confederacy, since it was never given any real chance to secure Washington (though Lincoln was fearful for its safety and had to be reassured on this point by Scott), was its failure to take Cairo and thus to secure the free navigation of the Mississippi, lower Ohio, Tennessee, and Cumberland rivers. This act would have led to the dismemberment of the Union Northwest as effectually as its neglect led to the dismemberment of the western states of the Confederacy. It would undoubtedly have secured Kentucky and Missouri to the side of the South and given a real interior line of communications which would have made the military problem of the Confederate commander in the West a comparatively simple one. As it was he had to defend and to attempt to block three separate river lines, the Cumberland, the Tennessee, and the Mississippi, each with separate means. The northern commander, on the contrary, was able by using the river system to concentrate and throw the whole weight of the military and naval (river) forces in the West against each separate command in turn, at Henry, Donelson, and Island No. 10, and thus easily to crush it. The situation would have been reversed had the South seized

that the militia of the District of Columbia had been called out for the defense of the capital.

The next step was to begin raising the necessary troops. As soon as the news of the firing on Fort Sumter was received the President issued his call for 75,000 militia of the several states for three months.[1] Both the number of men and the period for which they were summoned have been pointed out as proof of Lincoln's shortsightedness. I think his critics in these matters have overlooked the conditions. First, the period was all he could call them for under the law; second, the number was all that could be had, organized, armed and equipped, for the time being; and third, the whole thing was a psychological experiment, so to speak, to see if the people would respond. If the number of men called for had been greater and the period longer, the effect might have proved staggering or even benumbing instead of, as it was, stimulating.[2] In this connection it should not be overlooked that it proved impossible to get even the 75,000 and that only 45,000 were actually mustered in under this first call, some of the states having joined the Confederacy after the call was made and some having adopted a neutral attitude, while very few furnished their full quota. The call on May 3 for 42,034 three years' volunteers for the regular army and navy[3] and the recommendation to Congress upon its assembly that 400,000 men be called out for three years show, I think, a full

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Cairo at the start, which it had ample forces to do in spite of all the efforts of the President and General Scott to make it secure.

[1] *Official Records*, CXXII, 67.

[2] Blaine in *Twenty Years in Congress* strongly emphasizes this point in speaking of the difficulty of raising funds for the Union treasury at that time.

[2] *Official Records*, CXXII, 146.

comprehension on Mr. Lincoln's part of the magnitude and duration of the coming struggle.

Having called out the militia the next question was what to do with it. The opinion of most military men of the time appears to have been that it was useless and to have favored reënlisting for three years all the men who would so reënlist and sending the rest back to their homes. This opinion has often been assumed to have been justified by the results, that is to say by the failure of the first operation attempted. The fact is overlooked that the result was due to the technical incapacity of the military leadership which did not know how to march or to fight the command, and that even so the expedition nearly succeeded. Yet, although the blow failed, there is no question to my mind that striking the blow was preferable to inaction. Out of Bull Run sprang Phoenix-like the impetus and the will to conquer, the awakening to the real task and the mighty armies. The same result might have been attained possibly by a success but, success or failure, the blow had to be struck. Psychologically it was as necessary and the result was as electrically stimulating to the North as Sumter.

We cannot here linger over the details of the operations nor point out the relation each stroke bore to the central thought, but before leaving the subject of the Anaconda it will be well to point out with what decision, firmness, and relentless silence the coastal part of the plan was carried out. Whenever the troops could be spared another harbor fort was seized or a fort commanding a port of entry was captured. The force necessary for each expedition was so carefully estimated, the commander chosen with such insight into his ability for the particular mission, and the team-play between army and navy so secured, that but few of them failed. That they were on

the whole the best conducted operations of the war must be attributed not only to the fine work of the navy but very especially to the personal attention given them by the President.[1]

We pass now to the subject of the choice of generals, a feature of Lincoln's war administration which has, if that be possible, been more criticized than any other. It was natural that this should be so at the time when he was held to blame by his political adversaries for every shortcoming of every subordinate in the field and it is not surprising that this view should have crept into our histories, many of which are not exactly temperate in expressing the view that Lincoln was unhappily no judge of military ability. To prove this assertion is adduced his choice of McClellan, Pope, Burnside, Hooker, and Meade as commanders and especially that of Halleck as his chief of staff later in the war. These critics, both past and present, forget that the United States never had during the nineteenth century a school in which the higher art of war was practically taught. The assumption that the cadet school at West Point was a school of generalship was as absurd then as it is absurd now. There was no knowledge to be had in this country of how to lead large bodies of troops in the field or of how to fight them.

Under these circumstances it was almost pure guesswork as to whom to choose and, after McDowell, probably the best man in view at the time, Lincoln adopted the only gauge possible, that of success in the field. McClellan was the first man to win a Union success and his reward for it was the command in chief of the army. But it soon became apparent that he lacked perspective; he could not see the needs of any part of the theater

[1] See C. O. Paullin, "President Lincoln and the Navy," *American Historical Review*, XIV, 284.

of war in which he was not personally present. In spite of this defect McClellan was not lacking in useful points; he inspired confidence in both people and army and, at the time, nothing was more needed. After his failure as an army leader had become patent Pope was brought East and tried. By the criterion of success his was the obvious selection, Grant the other victorious general in the West being at that time under a cloud. When Pope also proved a failure there was no longer any success to go by and it was a case of choosing the least poor, without doubt McClellan. There was the added reason for this that the optimist—and every successful war leader has to be such—could always hope that any man might learn, at least by his own mistakes. McClellan had done so in fact; his Antietam campaign showed that he had learned many lessons, but unhappily these were minor ones, not the important lessons which an army commander must master. Mr. Lincoln undoubtedly gave him a fair second trial and, after his incapacity had been proved incurable, properly relieved him.

Then came the experiment of promoting the ablest corps commanders: Burnside, who had also commanded independently a successful coastal expedition, Hooker, and Meade. None of them proved able commanders; all of them proved workable commanders. There is in fact never any assurance that the best subordinate in the world will make a good independent leader, nor that a capable commander of a small force will be efficient in command of a larger one.

It may be asked then, why did Lincoln, having found a passable commander, not retain him instead of trying a new experiment? Lincoln did in fact keep many passable commanders and used them to the limit of their capacity in preference to risking doubtful but promising

experiments. But the command of an army imposes a tremendous strain; it wears on a man's nerves and drains even his courage. Lincoln kept closely in touch with his commanders always and especially with the leader of the Army of the Potomac, and when he saw Burnside and Hooker, one after the other, weakening under the strain he wisely did not wait until they had reached the breaking point. Had he done so he might indeed have justified himself in public opinion for their removal, but he would also have risked a disaster to the Army of the Potomac.

If we enquire why Lincoln kept Grant so long in the West we are halted by the fact that, though Lincoln trusted many seeming secrets to many men, in the main things he held no man as his counsellor and trusted no one with his plans and reasons. We can only guess as to whether the general he could not spare because "he fights"[1] was put where he thought the fighter was most needed for the execution of his basic plan or whether he wished further to temper him before bringing him East.

Lastly, in the matter of alleged poor selections, we come to the chief of staff. Halleck is one of those characters whose reputations have suffered at the hands of certain writers of history, such as we are all acquainted with, who, pretentious but unequipped, seek to cover up their deficiencies of learning by violent and venomous invective against minor characters, selected as scapegoats, whom no one is likely to rise up to defend. Some also who dared not paint too darkly the character or deeds of the President have sought to relieve their feelings, and possibly to convey esoterically their meaning, by accusing Halleck of blunders or of unwarrantable interference, accusations which, whether just or unjust,

[1] A. K. McClure, *Abraham Lincoln and Men of War-Time* (Phila., 1892), 180.

should have been made against the Secretary of War or against the President himself. To blame Halleck was, in addition, a conveniently indirect method of casting covert reproaches at the President for keeping so worthless an individual about him as adviser.

Mr. Lincoln has left us no direct praise of General Halleck but his retaining him in an advisory capacity throughout the latter part of the war is perhaps the best compliment, and the best evidence of his appreciation of his utility, that he could have given. General Sherman, who did not flatter anyone merely because he was writing to him, remarked in a letter thanking Halleck for his opinion on some matters: "I value your opinion on matters of importance above those of any other, because I know you to be frank, honest, and learned in the great principles of history. Both Grant and I are deficient in these and are mere actors in a grand drama, the end of which we do not see."[1]

Grant was always reserved towards Halleck for their personal relations had been unfortunate, but his correspondence shows that he felt towards him the highest deference and respect.

The portrayal of Halleck in the usual Civil War critique is thus far out of the perspective. It is indeed possible to present him as a pathetic figure, deplorably lacking in military knowledge, but so it is all the rest of the generals, including Grant and Lee, in the light of present-day military science. The village sage may appear a sorry impostor transplanted to academic circles, but that does not prevent his being the village sage. No account of the Civil War generals is a true one which does not ascribe to Halleck a foremost place in the matter of the military erudition and science of the day such as it was.

[1] *Official Records*, LXXIX, 203.

He furnished the President on the technical side precisely the elements he required and was probably the best man for the purpose who could have been found. Nor, in the matter of practical achievement was he behind; in the year 1862 virtually every victory gained by the North, from Henry and Donelson to Antietam, had been won by his subordinates acting under his direct orders.

As the war progressed we find Lincoln studying works on military art, brooding over maps, and applying his mind to the understanding of the details of the operations under his own direction as well as of those of other wars. Probably no army officer during the Civil War labored with such diligence to master military theory as well as the practical details of campaigning as did Lincoln, and with him it was never a matter of swallowing whole the opinions or formulae of others: he sought principles and how to apply them to the particular case.

It might seem at first sight that the strategist of the war had nought to do with tactics. Perhaps in handling an army composed of highly trained officers such might be the case. But with a raw, untrained, volunteer army, such as was ours, its units commanded by officers ignorant for the most part of the higher elements of their profession, it became essential for the President to be certain of his own knowledge, how the troops ought to be disposed, what might fairly be expected of them in the matter of accomplishment, and what was the worst that might happen to them in case of a disaster. Only by thus intimately understanding each situation could he act intelligently when every commander from Yorktown to St. Louis was shrieking that he was outnumbered and overwhelmed and demanding reënforcements.

As early as October 24, 1861 we find him with complete grasp of the local peculiarities and easy mastery of the

tactical principles involved advising the commander of the Department of the West how to dispose his troops and pointing out what was tactically impossible of accomplishment.[1] From Mr. Lincoln's correspondence with his generals a very interesting and thoroughly up-to-date book of tactical principles might be compiled; and it would also be a very witty one, for, with his originality of expression he put his suggestions into language as picturesque as it was terse and vigorous: for example his advice to Hooker, "I would not take any risk of being entangled upon the river, like an ox jumped half over a fence and liable to be torn by dogs front and rear without a fair chance to gore one way or kick the other." And his later pointing out, "If the head of Lee's army is at Martinsburg and the tail of it on the plank road between Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, the animal must be very slim somewhere. Could you not break him?"[2] Lincoln saw the tactical fault of Lee and the tactical opportunity it afforded, but his perception proved too far beyond that of Hooker for him to be able to see it, even when pointed out.

Some of his tactical ideas were not only ahead of his generals but in advance of his time, as instance his letter to Buell in which he says, "We have the greater numbers and the enemy has the greater facility of concentrating forces upon points of collision; that we must fail unless we can find some way of making our advantage an overmatch for his; and that this can only be done by menacing him with superior forces at different points at the same time, so that we can safely attack one or both if he makes no change; and if he weakens one to strengthen the other, forbear to attack the strengthened one, but seize and hold

[1] *Complete Works*, II, 86.
[2] June 5 and 14, *ibid.*, 344, 352.

the weakened one, gaining so much."[1] This conception did not accord with the formulae which had been compiled from the peculiar experiences of lesser forces in the European theater in former times. Hence it was long jeered at by the pedants. But I do not think the European general staffs of today could put into clearer language the guiding tactical principle by which both the contestants have been acting in the present war and by which Mr. Lincoln and his subordinates had to act if they were to win.

In the matter of orders there is a popular tradition to the effect that success in military matters demands that the superior shall do all the thinking and that subordinates shall execute precisely what they are told and nothing more. In the lesser operations of former times, when the commander of relatively small forces could keep in touch with and direct the marching and fighting of all his units, and when subordinate commanders were not well trained and could not be trusted, such a policy could be and was successfully carried out. When Napoleon tried to conduct operations by that method with the larger forces and in the larger theater of 1812 and 1813, he speedily came to grief. Lincoln, even in the second year of the war, commanded more men than Napoleon ever commanded, and no small share of his success must be attributed to his having grappled with and correctly solved the problem of how to deal with the mighty forces under his orders.

I refer to the principle of substituting missions for specific directions. This amounts to assigning a subordinate his task but leaving him independent initiative

[1] Jan. 13, 1862, *Official Records*, VII, 928. A further development of this idea in connection with the advantages and disadvantages of the offensive and defensive respectively, and the relative numbers required for each, will be found in his letter to Halleck of Sept. 19, 1863, in *id.*, XLIX, 207.

to think out his problem and to solve it in his own way and, so far as practicable, in his own time. Such orders are now termed "directives" or "letters of instruction." Mr. Lincoln did not so term them but the greater part of his military letters and telegrams fall distinctly into this category. He usually stated at the end of such messages "this is not an order" to convey unmistakably the idea that he was not conveying a rigid, formal order as orders were understood at that time. Moltke also, and quite independently of Lincoln, perceived the need of this method of procedure in handling the larger forces of modern times and so trained the Prussian army, especially during the five years following our Civil War, that he was able in 1870 to conduct the German operations by methods identical with those Lincoln had employed. Today, in any well-trained army, this principle of assigning missions, instead of prescribing measures, extends all the way down the hierarchy.

Mr. Lincoln's orders, and letters ending in "this is not an order," have been made the butt of no end of ridicule by pettifogged minds who sought to compare them unfavorably with those of Napoleon without realizing that he had solved the secret of big business as applied to war precisely where Napoleon had failed. These criticisms are just the sort one would expect from a country storekeeper unable to grasp the methods of the head of a department store and animadverting against him because he did not conduct his larger business like a country store. Mr. Lincoln was simply dealing with big business in a big way. His methods were entirely appropriate and he deserves the distinction of being the first to employ them successfully. Nor does the fact that he did, upon occasion, give precise orders, especially when dealing with the forces about and covering Washington, constitute

any contradiction to this statement. In any operations, however large, occasions will always arise when the central directing power must deny the initiative of subordinates, give explicit directions and demand implicit obedience. Mr. Lincoln correctly perceived those occasions and applied the proper stimulus when it was needed.

His correspondence with the generals was, however, by no means confined to movements ordered or suggested. His letters contain timely information, suggestions as to how to meet special difficulties of the situation, bits of personal counsel. Where friction is evident they seek to oil the machinery by smoothing things over or patching up misunderstandings. They nearly always give the impression or contain the direct statement that the government is doing and will do all in its power to aid the recipient in performing his task. Out of the multitude of his collected letters only a small percentage show the use of the lash and then only as a last sharp stimulus after all other means had failed. Efforts to spur on the laggard or startle the comatose into activity by warnings of imminent danger, to hearten the discouraged by glowing pictures of possible success, to give assurance to the overcautious by pointing out the weaknesses of his opponent, to arouse ambition, confidence, and energy in each, are far more frequent. As to praise, he was almost pathetically eager to give it and did give it, quickly and in full measure, for the slightest success or even genuine endeavor.

In estimating the influence of Lincoln on his generals it is impossible to consider separately his correspondence and his personal intercourse with them. He was not one of those who, placed in high position, shrink from personal contact and seek to hide behind the typewriter or the pen. He both welcomed and returned the visits

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of his generals and made frequent trips to both larger and smaller headquarters when not beyond ready reach from the capital. Nor were these visits mere flying ones; often he remained several days with some general in the field. The result was that, with the exception of his political opponent for the presidency in 1864, I know of no general officer who did not look up to him with reliance and regard. All felt that, no matter what happened, if they could only see the President and explain things to him, all would be right. And with personal regard went, hand in hand, respect and esteem; we do not find these men wittingly among Lincoln's detractors.

As with the generals, so with the officers and men. He did not hold himself aloof, but visited camps, inspected formations, issued timely proclamations, and held easy intercourse with all. No better proof of the confidence he inspired in his armies could be desired than the fact that before the election of 1864 his party leaders in the doubtful states wanted men furloughed home from the army, sure that these men would vote and win votes for Lincoln; nor was this confidence misplaced. Many a European monarch and minister would give much for the secrets of Lincoln's success in dealing with the problem of crowd psychology as applied to armies.

To turn to Mr. Lincoln's handling of one of his more specialized problems, that of organization, we find a seeming tendency towards multiplication of separate commands, culminating in 1862, followed by a gradual unifying of commands until, in 1864, General Grant was assigned to command the whole. These changes have been seized upon to prove various theses: those who look for timid vacillation on the part of Lincoln find no excuse for the multiplying and attribute the unifying to a re-

sponse to the growing demands of public opinion; those who follow the Comte de Paris in seeing in Lincoln the blundering egotist who "ended in believing himself capable of directing military operations"[1] explain the multiplying by a thirst for exercising command and the unifying by Lincoln's becoming "conscious of his own incompetency"[2] and gradually relinquishing control.

If we consider each change in organization, however, and the reasons for it, in the light of the situation as it appeared at the time, we shall not find much open logically to serious objection. Take for instance the reorganization upon the removal of the Army of the Potomac to the Yorktown peninsula in 1862. Washington had to be covered, Pennsylvania and western Maryland had to be covered, West Virginia had to be protected, and it was desirable to threaten an advance via Fredericksburg. There were two ways of accomplishing this: first, by a central army thrust well forward, which was attempted afterwards under Pope; second, by a cordon of troops covering strategic points. For the time being there were not enough troops for the central army so the cordon system was a last resort. If we examine the relative sizes of the various corps and divisions of observation, and their distribution to localities, we find little room for disagreement and no room for condemnation, considering the missions assigned the various bodies. Fewer troops might have sufficed to cover West Virginia but Fremont's command was destined to occupy East Tennessee also.

The organization into Mountain Department (West Virginia), and Departments of the Shenandoah and Rap-

[1] Louis Philippe Albert d'Orleans, Comte de Paris, *History of the Civil War in America* (Phila., 1875–88), I, 573.

[2] *Id.*, II, 245.

pahannock (west and east respectively of the Blue Ridge, in northern Virginia) was a perfectly natural one, following the distribution of troops.[1] Both distribution and organization received substantially the approval of General Scott when Lincoln went to consult him about the matter in June, 1862. The fact that Jackson was able to break through the cordon and afterwards to make good his escape has been assumed by some writers to be proof of the faults of organization and orders by the President; such a test is far from conclusive. The object of the dispositions was to prevent the capture or even the serious threatening of Washington, or the invasion of Union territory. This was accomplished and, with the removal of the main army under McClellan to Fort Monroe, it is difficult to see how it could have been more effectively accomplished with the same number and quality of troops. In the course of the operations other objectives were set the troops, namely the cutting off and destruction of Jackson's command. No one at the time realized Jackson's object any better than Lincoln[2] and if, in spite of that insight, he chose to attempt Jackson's capture, he was only anticipating Grant's similar decision two years later.[3] That the attempt failed is not justly to be attributed to faults of either plan or orders,

[1] *Official Records*, XVIII, 43; amended by General Order No. 62 on June 8, 1862, *id.*, XV, 541.

[2] Lincoln wrote to Fremont on June 15, 1862: "I think Jackson's game—his assigned work—now is to magnify the accounts of his numbers and reports of his movements, and thus by constant alarms keep three or four times as many of our troops away from Richmond as his own force amounts to. Thus he helps his friends at Richmond three or four times as much as if he were there." *Ibid.*, 661.

[3] Grant wrote from City Point on July 9, 1864: "I should like to have a large force here; but if the rebel force now north can be captured or destroyed I would willingly postpone aggressive operations to destroy them, and could send in addition to the Nineteenth Corps the balance of the Sixth Corps." *Id.*, LXXXII, 92.

but to faulty leadership of the troops; even so it was worth the trying.

In considering the appropriateness of the changes in organization we should not neglect the factor of the ability of the generals available for assignment. As the commanders waxed in capacity and efficiency it became profitable to increase their responsibilities to a point which it would not have been profitable to do earlier in the war. But in saying this there is no intention of implying that Mr. Lincoln did not himself learn anything about organization during its course. The whole center of gravity of military operations inevitably hinges on the organization and the location and resulting viewpoint of the commander and his staff. Mr. Lincoln became more keenly appreciative of this fact with his widening experience and made skilful use of his knowledge.

Upon Grant's appointment as lieutenant-general in March, 1864, Lincoln and Grant met for the first time. There is a more or less common supposition that from that date Grant took over, so to speak, the conduct of the war and that the President sat back and watched him, without really knowing or understanding what was being done. This impression is given, more or less unintentionally I believe, in Grant's final report of the war operations[1] and is reënforced by the more remote and hazy views in his memoirs. In these Grant says that the President told him that "all he wanted or had ever wanted was someone who would take the responsibility and act, and call on him for all the assistance needed. * * * [Stanton] and General Halleck both cautioned me against giving the President my plans of campaign. * * * I did not com-

[1] *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (New York, 1885–86), Appendix, 555–56.

municate my plans to the President, nor did I to the Secretary of War or to General Halleck."[1]

This impression is strengthened by the fact that Nicolay and Hay, in their rather precise account of Grant's visit to Washington, make no mention of any private interview between the President and Grant and quite unnecessarily deny that Mr. Lincoln said one word to him "as to what route to Richmond should be chosen."[2]

Let us examine the other evidence on this point.

1. Grant asserts in his *Memoirs* that the President did "submit" to him "a plan of campaign of his own." His account of the interview further does not give the impression that it is the one described by Nicolay and Hay and at which they were present.

2. Grant, presumably, had numerous interviews with Halleck who probably understood the President's ideas and wishes better than anyone else.

3. Before Grant came to Washington he had in mind a campaign of penetration from the rear via Suffolk-Raleigh.[3] What he did was to carry out the plan Lincoln had been trying to put through since the spring of 1862.

4. In his orders to Meade for the campaign he employed a paraphrase of Lincoln's orders of the year before to Hooker.[4]

5. As to the President's not knowing Grant's plan,

[1] *Id.*, II, 122–23.

[2] Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, VIII, 340–43.

[3] *Official Records*, LVIII, 41; *id.*, LX, 394. See also Willey Howell, "Lieut. General Grant's Campaign of 1864," in *Military Historian and Economist*, I, 115.

[4] Lincoln wrote to Hooker, June 10, 1863: "I think Lee's army, not Richmond, is your true objective point. If he comes toward the upper Potomac, follow on his flank and on his inside track, shortening your lines while he lengthens his. Fight him, too, when opportunity offers. If he stays where he is, fret him and fret him." *Complete Works*, II, 345.

Grant's instructions to Meade were: "Lee's army will be your objective point. Wherever Lee goes, there you will go also." *Official Records*, LX, 828.

Lincoln said in an address on May 9, 1864:[1] "I think, without knowing the particulars of the plans of General Grant, that what has been accomplished is of more importance than at first appears. I believe, I know—and am especially grateful to know—that General Grant has not been jostled in his purposes, that he has made all his points, and today he is on his line as he purposed before he moved his armies."

No scholar who has become familiar with the painstaking care with which Lincoln chose his words can doubt the meaning of that statement.

6. In other respects Grant's plans reflected the views of Lincoln. Grant called for simultaneous movement on all fronts; so had the President's War Order No. 1, two years before.[2] Grant called for destroying the enemy's war resources—another name for the Anaconda. Grant's idea was to hammer continuously, "attrition"; so had been Lincoln's, and it was perhaps because he had found in Grant the best executor of that idea that he gave him the over-command of all the armies.

In weighing this evidence we have to consider that Grant's memory was often at fault in the statements in his *Memoirs*, and that he had a habit of, so to speak, dramatizing his recollections by inserting quite imaginary and sometimes impossible conversations.[3] We observe

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[1] *Complete Works*, II, 520.

[2] Grant's statement in his official report that before he came to Washington "the armies in the East and in the West had acted independently and without concert, like a balky team," seemingly implied a denial of any effort at coördination prior to his arrival on the scene. He must have forgotten in so writing that orders do not necessarily create coördination; no balkier team than Grant's three armies in Virginia, with Butler bottling himself in Bermuda Hundred and Sigel and Hunter now chasing and again being chased up and down the Shenandoah, is to be found in the Civil War.

[3] In saying this there is no wish to imply on Grant's part any conscious intent to deceive the reader. It was simply the common tendency of human nature to

also that what we may call Grant's declaration of independence, at this point in his *Memiors*, is not borne out in other parts. Speaking of a later occasion on which he had shown Lincoln a message he says, "Mr. Lincoln, supposing I was asking for instructions, said," etc., and a little later he mentions, "I do not remember what the instructions were the President gave me, but I know," etc.[1] These passages, brief as they are, do not suggest a picture of the President as a dumb, semi-informed observer of events. Further, while Grant became quite willing to overemphasize his own value to Lincoln, and the part he had played, no other might encroach. He denies that Stanton was necessary to Lincoln to prevent his being imposed upon and adds: "Mr. Lincoln did not require a guardian to aid him in the fulfilment of a public trust."[2] This last represents, I believe, Grant's real attitude which was at bottom one of thorough loyalty to Lincoln.

As regards the statement made by Nicolay and Hay, those gentlemen may have had a motive in the effort to controvert the statements of General Taylor who had blamed Lincoln for the heavy losses incurred by Grant in the Wilderness campaign.[3]

It seems clear then that Lincoln knew, in general terms, and approved Grant's plans. Whether Grant, consciously or unconsciously, shaped his plans to meet Lincoln's views, or quite independently came to that way of thinking, the evidence is perhaps insufficient for determining.[4]

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tell a good story, in doing which, long after the event, anyone is liable to magnify his own part and the credit due him.

[1] *Grant's Memoirs*, II, 532–33.

[2] *Ibid.*, 537.

[3] Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, VIII, note 1, 343.

[4] Capt. Willey Howell who has devoted much study to Grant's plan of campaign is of the opinion that, while Grant was uninfluenced by anyone in his

It was like Lincoln to give Grant a wide latitude; and it was characteristic of the soldierly Grant to carry out loyally throughout the views of his superior, so that seeds of friction did not exist.

Whatever the influence of Lincoln upon Grant's plans prior to the initiation of the campaign of 1864, there is no doubt that he left the conduct of the main eastern army, as well as the specific instructions to be given Sherman and others, entirely to Grant. But he did not for a moment relax his vigilance in following every move and after Grant had reached City Point Lincoln made frequent visits to his headquarters. How closely he remained in touch with the military requirements of the situation may be gathered from his telegram to Grant of July 20, 1864: "Yours of yesterday, about a call for 300,000, is received. I suppose you had not seen the call for 500,000, made the day before, and which, I suppose, covers the case. Always glad to have your suggestions."[1]

Yet, though Grant took a vast amount of work off his hands, and freed him from many burdens, the correspondence, slight as it is, suffices to show that Lincoln held the military reins during the last nine months of the war quite as firmly as ever in his own hands.

Lincoln's influence on our foreign relations during the war has been well brought out in the main by Nicolay and Hay. As to his sense of relative values, his firmness on essentials—such as the nonrecognition of the Confederacy by Great Britain and France—and the appropriateness and timeliness of his dealings with foreign governments there can be little dispute. How closely

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conduct of the war west of the Alleghanies, in 1864–65 he shaped his plans of campaign in the Virginia theater to meet the views of either Halleck or Lincoln. See *Mil. Hist. & Econ.*, I, 278.

[1] *Complete Works*, II, 551.

he watched the situtation abroad and sought to coördinate the campaigns and the diplomatic situation is suggested by his efforts to get Rosecrans to do something in December, 1862, before the meeting of the British Parliament, so that all the lost ground might be recovered by that time to strengthen the hands of the government in its diplomacy.[1]

Nor, in watching Europe, did he neglect to keep an eye out to the southward. In August, 1863 he wrote to Grant at Vicksburg: "In view of recent events in Mexico, I am greatly impressed with the importance of reëstablishing the national authority in Western Texas as soon as possible."[2] Grant, however, was found preoccupied with his more immediate surroundings, so Lincoln turned to Banks and finally sent him to reëstablish the Union authority on the Rio Grande at Brownsville.[3] Naturally but few references to the interrelations of military operations and diplomacy are to be found in the official correspondence and the extent of this coördination has not yet been brought to light. It would make a good topic for a history seminar.

Lincoln's handling of the other departments of the government, especially the Treasury, which had to furnish the sinews of war, his dealings with Congress, his influence on public opinion, are all essential parts of his conduct of the war, and the military campaigns, as well as the naval operations, will only be viewed in their correct perspective when considered in their relation to the whole. Of all the battles of the war Antietam was perhaps the most important in its political, diplomatic, and popular

[1] Halleck to Rosecrans, Dec. 5, 1862, *Official Records*, XXX, 123.

[2] *Id.*, XXXVIII, 584.

[3] Seward's letter of instructions to Banks is of especial interest at the present time. Nov. 23, 1863, *id.*, XLI, 815. See also on this, Halleck to Grant, Jan. 8, 1864, *id.*, LVIII, 41.

significance; but it was the Proclamation of Emancipation which gave it that significance, just as it was the call to arms of the militia which gave its meaning to the fall of Sumter. The chief consequence of Gettysburg was, not the clearance of the enemy from Pennsylvania, but that it made it possible to put into effect the Draft Act.

Amid all this handling of weighty questions we find the President still able to give time to lesser ones, to send an appropriate and steadying reply to the resolutions of a meeting of disgruntled New York citizens in Albany; to indite a long letter of thanks and assurance in answer to an address from an appreciative body of English workingmen in Manchester;[1] to test powders; to experiment firing with a rifle; to advise concerning the designs of ships; to consider innumerable private cases and grievances; and, in general, to meet anyone and everyone who cared to see him. With a rare detachment and unaffected simplicity he assumed the blame for all failures and shortcomings of his subordinates, while for all successes he readily yielded the credit to others. Is it any wonder that he was able to inspire the efforts of a vast, inert heterogeneous people, to organize great armies and fleets, and so to direct them as to destroy slavery and reëstablish a popular Union government in the land?

To some my estimate of Lincoln as war statesman may seem that of a purblind enthusiast, who has succumbed to the inevitable temptation to laud to heroship the central figure of his research, and to paint in only the high lights of merit and success, leaving out all shadows. I can only answer that, just as the accusation of his contemporary political detractors—that he was but a common politician who owed his reputation to the group

[1] Frank Moore, *Rebellion Record; a diary of American events, etc.* (New York, 1864), VII, 298, VI, 420.

of able statesmen by whom he was surrounded—has fallen away, destroyed by cumulative evidence, so will it be in matters military. The companion idea that in military matters Lincoln was but a bungler, surrounded by able generals whom he failed to appreciate or to support, is still rampant; by the nature of things views in this field are readjusted more slowly. But I am confident that when all the evidence has been gathered and weighed, the entire picture filled in and all the lights and shadows balanced, we shall see the figure of Abraham Lincoln stand out even more colossal upon the dim perspective.

New Light on the Career of Captain Nathaniel Pryor

By Joseph B. Thoburn

Nathaniel Pryor first came into public notice in 1803 when, with eight other young men of Kentucky, all of whom were members of good families and expert in the use of the rifle, he enlisted in the army, at Louisville, for the purpose of accompanying Lewis and Clark on their memorable expedition across the continent to the mouth of the Columbia River. Of his parentage and of the date and place of his birth the writer has been unable to secure information from any source, though diligent inquiry has been made among members of the Pryor family in both Virginia and Kentucky. It is probable that his birth occurred about the year 1785, either in Virginia or in Kentucky. Reference has been made to him by one recent writer as having been a cousin of Serg. Charles Floyd, whose death and burial occurred on the site of Sioux City, Iowa, while the Lewis and Clark expedition was on its way up the Missouri.[1]

Pryor held the rank of sergeant in the detachment which accompanied Lewis and Clark, and during the course of the expedition was frequently entrusted with the performance of special duties in the command of small details of men, in which capacity he displayed courage,

[1] Eva Emery Dye, *The Conquest* (Chicago, 1902), 150, 175.

tact, and executive ability of such degree that he came to be regarded as one of the most trusted subordinates in the expeditionary force. He was one of the members of the company who kept diaries or journals in which were recorded the incidents of the journey from start to finish. The journal of Sergeant Pryor is said to have been presented to Capt. William Clark, and it is believed to be stored away among the unpublished records in the archives of the War Department at Washington.

In recognition of his service with the Lewis and Clark expedition, Nathaniel Pryor was appointed an ensign in the First United States Infantry, his commission bearing the date of February 27, 1807. Shortly afterward he was ordered to assume command of a detachment which was detailed to escort the Mandan chief, Sheheke, who had accompanied Lewis and Clark to Washington on their return thither, to his home on the upper Missouri. This proved to be a most hazardous undertaking, Ensign Pryor and his little command being subjected to an attack by the Arikara Indians in the course of which a number of his men were killed and wounded and he was forced to turn back down the river; it was not until two years later that Sheheke was finally escorted back to his home and people.[1]

Nathaniel Pryor was promoted to the grade of second lieutenant, May 3, 1808. Less than two years later (April 1, 1810) he resigned his commission in the military service. Where his regiment and company were stationed during this interval is not stated but it is probable that it was on the western frontier, on or near the Mississippi River. If so, he remained in the West after quitting the military service, probably making his home at St. Louis,

[1] "Letters of William Clark and Nathaniel Pryor," in *Annals of Iowa*, 3d ser., I, 613–20.

where his old chief, Capt. William Clark, was the government Indian agent. John Bradbury, the Scotch botanist, who was in the West in 1811, mentioned meeting Pryor, who was then engaged in trading with the Indians.[1]

After the outbreak of the second war with Great Britain, Nathaniel Pryor was offered a new commission as a second lieutenant, which he declined. He was commissioned a first lieutenant of the Forty-fourth United States Infantry, August 30, 1813, and on October 1, 1814 he was promoted to the grade of captain, which he held until he was honorably discharged from the service, June 15, 1815, by reason of the end of the war. Of his career during the next three years nothing is definitely known. There is reason to believe, however, that he made his home, at least nominally, at St. Louis, where he was well acquainted and where his old commander, Gen. William Clark, was then the territorial governor of Missouri. Known, as he was, to the Chouteau brothers as a trustworthy and resourceful man of large experience, it is not improbable that he came to the present Oklahoma in their service shortly afterward.[2] From their trading post on the east bank of the Grand (or Neosho) River, which was located on the site of the present village of Salina, Oklahoma, the Chouteaus controlled the trade of the Osage bands who were then ranging over the lower valleys of the Grand and Verdigris rivers. The fact that an important tributary stream, which discharges its waters into the Grand River a few miles from the trading post of the Chouteaus, has always been known as Pryor Creek since that period is at least significant in this connection.

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[1] John Bradbury, *Travels in the Interior of America, 1809–1811*, reprinted in R. G. Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904), V, 252–53.

[2] At the head of a party of trappers Pierre Chouteau had accompanied Pryor most of the journey up the Missouri to the Mandan villages in 1807.

In 1817, the same year that the government military post at Fort Smith was established, a trading post was built in the valley of the Verdigris River, one mile above its confluence with the Arkansas, by French and Rutherford, who traded with the Indians at that point until 1819. Presumably this invasion of the Osage trade, which had so long been monopolized by the Chouteaus, was not viewed complacently by the latter, though not even a tradition of the rivalry which must have followed has come down to the present time. In the course of his voyage up the Arkansas River, in March, 1819, Thomas Nuttall, the English naturalist, met Nathaniel Pryor going down stream, "with cargoes of furs and peltries collected among the Osages."[1] A few months later Nuttall visited Pryor at his trading post near the mouth of the Verdigris.[2] As French and Rutherford retired from that field about that time, it seems reasonable to presume that Pryor had purchased their trading establishment, ostensibly as the principal but in reality as the agent of the Chouteau interests.[3] According to Nuttall, Pryor was present as the friend and adviser of the Osage during the course of their council with the Cherokee at Fort Smith in September, 1819, whereat prisoners were exchanged between the two tribes.[4] Pryor evidently continued to trade with the Indians at the mouth of the Verdigris for about two years. During a part, if not all, of this time Hugh Glenn of Cincinnati was associated with him.

[1] Nuttall's *Journal*, reprinted in *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1905), XIII, 138–39.

[2] *Ibid.*, 234–35.

[3] After Pryor left the country of the Osage, never to return, Auguste P. Chouteau, who was in charge of the trading post on Grand River, occupied the ground thus abandoned and operated a similar trading establishment near the mouth of the Verdigris, at or near Pryor's trading post. It was this trading establishment of Auguste P. Chouteau on the lower Verdigris to which Washington Irving refers as the Osage Agency in his *Tour on the Prairies*.

[4] *Early Western Travels*, XIII, 277.

Career of Captain Nathaniel Pryor

In the autumn of 1821 Nathaniel Pryor joined with Hugh Glenn and Jacob Fowler in outfitting an expedition with which they ascended the Arkansas River to the Rocky Mountains.[1] Pryor visited Santa Fé before the expedition set forth on its return. When the expedition left the Rocky Mountains in the early part of 1822 it pursued its course to Fort Osage on the Missouri River instead of returning to Pryor's trading post at the mouth of the Verdigris. Whether Pryor ever came back to Oklahoma is not known nor, indeed, is anything known of his occupation or whereabouts during the two following years.

There is a tradition among some of the Cherokee people in eastern Oklahoma to the effect that when the Western Cherokee moved from Arkansas to the Indian Territory in 1829 they found a stock of race horses in the possession of some of the Creole French traders and mixed-blood Osage, which were reputed to have been brought into that country by a Kentucky trader named Pryor. Some of the horses of this stock eventually passed into the hands of the Cherokee, and thirty years later some of the fastest horses in the Cherokee nation were said to have pedigrees which traced back to the stock which had been brought there by Pryor from Kentucky.

Pryor is believed to have contracted a marriage with a woman of the Osage tribe as the Pryor family, which is a prominent one among the Osage at the present time, is said to be descended from him.

In 1824 Nathaniel Pryor fared forth once more across the Great Plains toward the Rocky Mountains, this time in the company of the Patties. With this party he continued through all its wanderings until its travels were

[1] The *Journal of Jacob Fowler* * * * (New York, 1898), edited by Elliott Coues, records the principal incidents of this journey in considerable detail.

ended at San Diego, California, in 1828. There he suffered imprisonment for many months as did the other members of the party. He was liberated in 1829, being at that time twenty-four years old, according to Bancroft.[1] One account states that after the members of the Pattie party had been freed from prison Spanish names were given to them,[2] and Bancroft gives the full name of Pryor as Nathaniel Miguel Pryor, the inference being that he had been received into the communion of the Roman Catholic Church. In 1830 the members of the Pattie party settled in the vicinity of Los Angeles, where Pryor became known as a clock repairer and a silversmith and was known as "Miguel el Platero," from the circumstances of having repaired the church silver. In addition to mending clocks he also followed the occupation of otter hunting though, as the account quaintly states, "not always with due respect to the revenue laws."

In 1836 Nathaniel Pryor sought and obtained from the ayuntamiento a certificate of long residence and good character, and a year or two later he married a young woman who was a member of the Sepulveda family. His wife died in 1840 leaving one son, who was named Paul. Pryor served against Micheltorena in 1845, and in June, 1846 was in command of a company of citizen artillery. He was arrested during the Flores revolt on the charge of aiding the Americans. In 1847 he served as regidor. He died in 1850. His son Paul died as the result of accidental poisoning in 1878.

The town of Pryor, long known as Pryor Creek, is the county seat of Mayes County, Oklahoma. A few miles

[1] H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1886), IV, 785. The statement is obviously erroneous; probably the correct age of Pryor at this time was forty-four.

[2] "Ranch and Mission Days in Alta California," in *Century Magazine*, XLI. 183–92.

distant from the town may be seen the ruins of the stone fireplace and chimney of a log cabin which long since disappeared from view, and which is locally reputed to have been built and for a time occupied by the trader, Pryor. Not only is it impossible to authenticate such a tradition but it also seems improbable that such a ruin could date from Pryor's time or that he should have set up such a separate establishment so close to the Chouteau trading post, which was less than ten miles distant.

Reminiscences of a Pioneer Missionary

By Chrysostom Adrian Verwyst

I was born November 23, 1841 in the land of windmills, dikes, and wooden shoes, in Uden, a town of North Brabant, Holland. My parents migrated to the United States in 1848, and of my life in Holland I remember almost nothing.

The occasion of our removal to the United States was as follows: Rev. Theodore Van den Broek,[1] a Dominican priest, had come from Holland to this country in 1832 and had resided for a time in a house of his order, St. Rose, near Springfield, Washington County, Kentucky. In 1834 he removed to Green Bay where a brother Dominican, Father Mazzuchelli,[2] had been working among the whites and the Indians. Thereafter the two Fathers labored along the shores of Green Bay, sometimes separately, sometimes together. Father Van den Broek was stationed at Little Chute and along the upper Fox River until his death at Little Chute in 1851. In 1847 he re-

[1] Rev. Theodore J. Van den Broek, after officiating for the whites at Green Bay from 1834 to 1837, established in the latter year his mission for the Menominee at Little Chute on Fox River. The Indians built a wigwam for him and then a log church twenty-two by thirty feet, roofed with bark. Later the church was covered with boards, and about 1844 a schoolhouse was built. After the removal of the Menominee to their reservation in Shawano County, the mission buildings were used by the whites. See letters of Father Van den Broek in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XIV, 192, 196–205.

[2] For a sketch of Father Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli see *ibid.*, 155–61. His *Memoir* (Chicago, 1915) has been translated and published in book form.

turned to Holland on some family mission, and his description of the cheap and good lands to be had in Wisconsin induced many of the people of North Brabant, among them my father, to migrate thither. Accompanied by Father Van den Broek and by Father Goddard, a Franciscan, they set sail in three ships,[1] two of which landed at New York and the third at Boston.

On the latter ship my father had embarked. We were fifty-five days on the ocean but the voyage was a prosperous one and none of the passengers died at sea. On reaching America Father Van den Broek returned to the scene of his labors at Little Chute, while Father Goddard went with a number of his countrymen to Hollandtown, Brown County. This settlement was originally called "Franciscus Bush"[2] in honor of the patron saint of the church. On the arrival of our ship at Boston most of our fellow passengers went immediately to the West, but our family and another by the name of Verkampen were obliged, through lack of means to travel farther, to stay in Boston. It was in the month of May and we therefore made our living at first by going into the woods, to Dorchester and other places near Roxbury, and picking blueberries, blackberries, and huckleberries, and cutting water cresses.

Soon after our arrival a laughable adventure happened to our neighbor, Verkampen. Rooms had been engaged for the two families together, the Verkampens occupying those in front of the building and our family those in the rear. One night the owner came with a German boy who acted as interpreter and told Verkampen we would have to vacate the premises immediately. When Verkampen

[1] The three ships were named, respectively, Mary Magdalena, Liberia, and America.

[2] The settlement is still known as Franciscus Bosch.

at length comprehended the demand thus made upon him he seized an ax and made for the proprietor with the intention of scaring him away. The latter promptly beat a hasty retreat, but shortly afterwards Verkampen was arrested and lodged in jail. His poor wife was disconsolate. "Scarcely in America and my man in jail," she lamented. Verkampen, however, urged her not to feel worried. He was getting plenty to eat, more than he had ever enjoyed in Holland, and was living, he wrote, "like a prince in a palace."

A few days after his arrest many of the townsmen celebrated the Fourth of July by imbibing too freely of liquor, and as a result were landed in jail. Verkampen, who had a bottomless stomach, ate not only his own rations but also those of the drunken fellows incarcerated with him. For the first time in all his life, probably, he enjoyed a full meal. A day or two after the Fourth the prisoners were brought to trial. Verkampen, who was defended by a German lawyer, was dismissed since it was shown that the owner of the building had had no right to attempt to eject us in the middle of the night and that Verkampen had intended only to scare him away and not to kill him.

We soon removed to East Boston where my Father and my oldest brother engaged in the cooper trade. About the year 1850 we moved to Roxbury where they obtained employment in a rope factory. I have omitted to mention, I find, that prior to 1850 Father and my two brothers, Martin and John, went to Vermont to work on a railroad, and there John died. Thereupon my Father and my brother Martin returned to Boston or East Boston. We two boys--both of us still alive (1916)--attended the German Catholic school in Boston.

Finally, in the early spring of 1855, our family migrated to Wisconsin. We left Boston in pleasant spring weather

but when the train reached Rutland, Vermont, the same evening it was snowing and when we arrived at Albany it was raining. In the depot at Albany there was posted in a conspicuous place a large placard warning travelers against "thieves, pickpockets, and confidence men." The notice appeared somewhat strange to us but to our cost we found out that it was not uncalled for. Father engaged a man to convey our baggage to another depot, paying him in advance. When we arrived at the depot he refused to surrender our belongings unless we again paid him. In vain Father protested. Finally, he appealed to a policeman, and that worthy representative of law and order declared that Father had had no right to prepay the baggage man; so he was compelled to pay the bill a second time.

From Albany we went by way of Niagara Falls, where we passed over into Canada, to Detroit. The train moved very slowly, and it took us many days--how many I do not now remember--to reach Chicago. That city left a decidedly dismal impression on my boyish mind. It certainly did not look neat and clean like Boston. From Chicago we took a steamboat which brought us to Sheboygan, Wisconsin. Here mother and we two boys tarried for over a week while Father and my oldest brother started out in quest of land. Finally, they returned and we hired a conveyance to bring us and our baggage to Fond du Lac. On the way a man ran against our wagon; the two drivers became very angry, each blaming the other for the collision, and nearly came to blows. We dined at Green Bush[1] and arrived late that evening at Fond du Lac. The next morning we took a small steamer on Lake Winnebago which brought us to Menasha. From

[1] Greenbush is a town in western Sheboygan County. The first cabin was built there in 1844; the village was platted in 1848, and became a station on the plank road between Sheboygan and Fond du Lac.

there we took a wagon and through mud, stones, and deep holes on the road we finally came to Hollandtown in Brown County.

Father bought sixty acres of land from a man named Stephen Fink, and we started to erect a cabin of unhewn logs, the neighbors helping at the raising. The house had no floor but there was a wretched wooden chimney which at times smoked fearfully. In cold weather the occupants would be too warm in front while their backs were almost freezing. Luckily for us we carried a floor about with us in the shape of wooden shoes made of poplar. My brother, Cornelius, and myself worked hard all winter with Father cutting down hardwood and other trees and chopping them into logs about sixteen feet long. We tacked a piece of old cloth to our wooden shoes and tied strings together around our legs below the knees to prevent the snow from falling into our shoes. In this way we kept our feet dry and warm, better in fact, than we could have done with leather boots.

In the spring father would split fence rails, at which work we boys faithfully assisted him. After the clearing had been fenced, having neither horses nor oxen to plow the ground, we made potato hills and planted corn and potatoes, doing the work with heavy grub hoes. There was a clearing of about seven acres when we bought the land of which one-half was meadowland. We had to work like beavers all the year round and our only leisure was on Sunday afternoons, when we were allowed to visit the neighbor boys. At the end of four years of such toil we had thirty acres cleared, on which we raised wheat, rye, barley, potatoes, beans, and other vegetables.

In Hollandtown, where a stately brick church now stands, prior to 1855 a small church had been built. A priest used to visit our settlement about once a month,

the good man being obliged to walk all the way from Little Chute, a distance of about fifteen miles, over most horrible roads. Every Sunday we had religious services. As the church had neither steeple nor bell the blowing of a horn announced the time for religious services. An old man named Van der Hey used to give out the prayers and read a short sermon. The men and boys sat on one side of the church and the women and girls on the other. The women used to wear those queer Holland-fashioned dresses and some had gold earrings. Nearly all of them came to church in their wooden shoes. A man named Verhulst was doorkeeper and woe to the luckless canine that happened to get into the church. Verhulst would grab him in his giant hands and drag him out of the church, the poor dog howling loudly. Once outdoors Verhulst would swing the dog in a circle and hit him against the church, the animal meanwhile howling for mercy. When finally released the unfortunate dog would take care to avoid the vicinity of the church in future. Of course such proceedings did not serve to increase the gravity and attentive devotion of the youngsters.

Whenever the Father came from Little Chute there was always a great rush to get to him first to make one's confession. I think if any of our non-Catholic people had been present on such an occasion and had seen how we fairly raced to get to the priest first, they would have concluded that confession after all is not so difficult an ordeal as some of those outside the church have imagined it to be.

I will now give the names of some of the people I recall who were at Hollandtown and its vicinity in the period from 1855 to 1860: Van den Berg, Verkuilen, Kobussen, Verhulst, Van den Loop, Ballard, Beach, Fink, Eittings, Verkamp, Van der Jagt, Loftus, Curtin, Malloy, Glachine, Sievers, Kersten, Rolf, Kordsmeier, de Bruin, School,

Hoevenaar, Tillemans, Van Aerts, Hintermeister; besides these there were many others whose names I can not now remember.

My countrymen used to have an occasional jollification. There was, for instance, the carnival entertainment just before Lenten fast. After mass was over they would betake themselves to the home of Mr. Van den Berg. The house was a large building for those primitive days, and there they would dance--the younger generation, of course--all day till sundown, when all would go home. Night dancing was never carried on, and I believe the present generation religiously follows this custom of their grandparents; that is, they dance only during the day, and every decent woman and girl is supposed to be at home before dark.

Our people also had a guild, that is, a certain kind of society at the head of which were a king and a queen for the year. On an appointed day all the members would meet at the chosen rendezvous to shoot down the wooden bird, made of very tough material, placed at the top of a high pole like a flagstaff. Sometimes it took much shooting to bring down the last piece of the wooden bird, whereupon the lucky marksman would be proclaimed king, with the privilege of choosing a queen and getting a large silver heart made which he was to wear during the year as a token of his royal dignity. Of course innocent day-dancing and other jollification were indulged in by the younger generation on this great day.

Occasionally we heard of a fight, or of some poor fellow becoming tipsy, but nothing more serious than that occurred. There was universal good will among all and towards all. Our neighbors lived the simple life of hard-working, religious, God-fearing people. From time to time they gathered on Sunday afternoon at the house of

some neighbor, where the men played cards and took an occasional drink from a jug of liquor; the women, meantime, sipped their tea or coffee and chatted over household affairs and current news; while the boys found amusement in innocent games. Such entertainments fostered friendly neighborly feelings and promoted good will in the community. Indeed, in the four years I spent on the farm from 1855--60 I do not recall a single instance of a man or woman being arrested for disorderly conduct.

At house raisings and marriage feasts there would be some liquor consumed and all kinds of fun indulged in, but all with a neighborly feeling and not for the mere indulgence of drinking. When I recall my boyhood days in Wisconsin sixty or more years ago, I feel a certain regret that they are gone, never to return. It seems to me that people are now becoming too civilized, and their life is too artificial and filled with too much sham.

In those days bears, deer, racoons, and wild pigeons abounded. In some years pigeons could be seen on the ground and in the air by millions, but alas! man's greed has exterminated the wild pigeons. Year by year they become scarcer until now I believe there is not a single one n the whole length and breadth of the United States We have exterminated the pigeon as we have exterminated the buffalo, and as we are fast exterminating the deer, elk, whitefish, and lake trout. The white man's philosophy seems to be summed up in Mark Twain's observation when told that we should provide for posterity: "Provide for posterity! Do something for posterity! *What has posterity done for us?*" In those days bears were plentiful and occasionally they paid unwelcome visits to the farmers' cornfields and pigpens. They were fond of pork and would often catch a squealing pig and make away with him to the woods to enjoy a hearty meal.

One day--it was on a Sunday and the people had all gone to church--a big bear invaded the precincts of Mrs. Van der Heide of Hollandtown. Hearing the squeals of one of her pigs, Mrs. Van der Heide rushed out of the house and saw a bear trying to carry one of them away. The animal was attempting to pull the struggling porker over a rail fence. In this he failed, however, for Mrs. Van der Heide, forgetting all fear, grabbed the hind feet of the pig and pulled with might and main while the bear, growling fiercely on the other side of the fence, did likewise. It was a pitched battle between the undaunted woman and the bear for the ownership of the pig, but at length the woman won. She told her little boy to take a stick and hit the bear on his hind legs. The bear growled fiercely but had to give up. Mrs. Van der Heide saved her pig, but the animal had to be butchered as it was so badly lacerated by the teeth of the bear. Everyone wondered at the courage of the woman and that the bear did not attack her. Let her name be immortalized in the annals of Wisconsin!

Occasionally an Indian would pay us a visit, although I never saw one in the village itself. The neighbors advised us not to give them anything when they came to beg for something to eat, for if we once gave them food they would come again and again. I considered their well-meant advice heartless. Mother, too, pitied the poor people when they would come asking for something to eat. I remember perfectly one occasion when she gave a hungry Indian a whole loaf of bread. He asked for a knife and cut off a slice two or more inches thick to eat immediately.

One time the Father in Little Chute had several guests at table, among them an Indian. When the meat was passed to the latter he emptied the whole dish into his bag thinking that it now belonged to him. The other guests

were not particularly pleased with the procedure, but the thing was done, and they had to make out their dinner as best they could.

Another time mother had made some homemade beer which consisted of hops, water, and molasses boiled in the wash boiler. This time the brew proved to be a failure. We had some neighbors as guests on Sunday afternoon, and some of this homemade product was served them, but very little of it was drunk for it was fearfully bitter. An Indian happened to come along, and mother offered him some of it, but after taking some of it in his mouth he spat it out. Mother afterwards threw away the remainder of the beer. Next day I was working, planting or hoeing potatoes near a creek that ran through our land. Suddenly I heard mother screaming at the top of her voice. I ran up to the house to see what was the matter. On reaching it I found four Indians on horseback who said they had come to drink the beer of which their comrade—the Indian of yesterday—had told them. We explained to them that we had thrown it all away because it was not good. Father, who was working near by for a neighbor, hearing mother's loud call came running with a pitchfork intent on defending his wife and children, but luckily he was not needed, the Indians laughing good-naturedly at the poor man's simplicity in thinking to fight four Indians with a pitchfork.

A neighbor of ours, a distant relative, Martin School by name, lived some three miles away in a deep valley, or rather ravine through which a creek ran. One night he heard some noise near the creek and thinking it was a deer coming to drink he tried to shoot it. His gun, which was one of the old-fashioned kind, failed to go off, and so he went back in the dark to his house to fix it. In a moment in rushed an Indian in a terrible rage, exclaiming:

"You want to shoot Indian! shoot Indian!" The poor man tried to make the Indian understand that he was very near-sighted and that he had thought it was a deer drinking at the creek. Gradually the Indian comprehended his explanation, which was given more by signs and motions than by words. The red man's anger gradually died away but he insisted on having a dance then and there. Probably he had imbibed too much fire water somewhere. So School had to do the singing and clapping with his hands to keep time, while the Indian danced around on the floor until finally he became tired and departed.

On one occasion in the wintertime my oldest brother, Martin, who used to work every winter in the pineries near Green Bay to help support the family, was walking along when he came upon a drunken Indian. The latter insisted on dancing with him immediately. Martin had never danced in all his life and, in fact, knew no more about dancing than the man in the moon, but dance he must, for the Indian demanded it and to refuse might cost him his life. So the two jumped around in the snow on the road, yelling as loudly as they could to keep time and moving about like two inmates of a lunatic asylum My brother began to get tired of this strenuous exercise, but he dared not stop for fear of the Indian's gun. At length the Indian suddenly started off and Martin gladly took the opposite route.

The roads in those primitive days were generally poor, often in miserable condition. The only good one I knew of was the Military Road from Fond du Lac to Green Bay. It was a plank road from the county line between Calumet and Brown counties to Green Bay, a distance of about twenty-four miles. The south end of the road—not planked through Calumet County to Fond du Lac—

was fairly good, considering the general condition of Wisconsin roads in those days, but it was very poor when compared with the public roads of the present time. Two or three times in my boyhood days I went to Green Bay on this plank road; the first time with my father about the year 1857. My brother had earned a little over $200 in the pinery north of Green Bay, but instead of the cash had received only a note, or check, for his pay. He had left the check with Timothy Howe[1] in Green Bay for collection. I went along with father to act as interpreter on this occasion; but we made a long journey of some fifty miles going and returning for nothing. Ever since then I have felt rather unkindly toward lawyers. The second occasion was about a year later when I went to call Martin Van den Broek, then working in Green Bay, to the funeral of his father. The latter had died from the effects of partaking too freely of ice-cold water while assisting in haymaking at Ballard's farm. On this occasion I walked continuously for twenty-four hours, going to Green Bay in the daytime and returning to Hollandtown the ensuing night, a total distance of about fifty miles.

The most wretched road I remember was the one from Hollandtown to Kaukauna, or Kaukaulo, as it was then called. This road followed no particular town or section line but zigzagged through the woods. There were innumerable mudholes, each one apparently worse than the rest, and no attempt had been made to improve the road. It struck the river bottom not far from Beaulieu's Mill

[1] Timothy Otis Howe, who was born in Maine in 1816, came to Wisconsin in 1845 and opened a law office at Green Bay. He was circuit judge from 1850 to 1855, when he resigned and retired to private practice until his election in 1861 to the United States Senate. He was twice reëlected and was tendered the positions of chief justice of the United States and of minister to England, both of which he declined. In 1881 he was appointed postmaster-general and while an incumbent of that office died, Mar. 25, 1883.

and then continued up the river to the dam, above which people would cross the river to the village of Kaukaulo. This consisted of some half a dozen houses in addition to a store kept by Hunt. On the south side of the river there were in 1855 only two settlers; one was Beaulieu, an Indian, or half-breed, who had a small farm and a grist-mill;[1] the other was one Sanders, a Dutchman, who had a large farm across the river from Hunt's store.

One time a Dutchman named Jan den Dickken (John the Thick, John the Fat) wanted to buy some pork at Hunt's store. Someone had told him he should ask for pig's pork. When he told Hunt what he wanted, the latter did not understand him. Finally, thinking that John wanted to buy a pitchfork, he brought some samples of the latter article for him to choose from. "No, No! Pick pork!" replied John the Fat. Luckily a pig chanced to run by the door, whereupon John pointed at it, at the same time making a motion with his knife as if he wanted to cut off a piece. Thus assisted Hunt at length comprehended the fat Dutchman's request.

In those days it was sometimes difficult to obtain provisions. For some time our nearest store was Hunt's at Kaukauna, eight or nine miles away. After some years Bertus Van den Berg opened a store at Hollandtown, and then we were no longer compelled to travel through mud and slush to Kaukauna to procure the necessaries and conveniences of life. Before our arrival at Hollandtown things had been still worse. Some of the settlers actually had to carry sacks of flour on their backs all the way from

[1] Paul H. Beaulieu settled on the south side of Fox River in 1835 and purchased the mill that had been erected by the government for the Stockbridge Indians. He died at Kaukauna in 1850. His son Bazil was a partner in the mill, and in 1842 first clerk of the town of Kaukauna. In 1871 the Beaulieu property was sold for a paper-mill site, and in 1878 Bazil removed to White Earth, Minn., where he died in 1894.

Green Bay to Hollandtown, a distance of about twenty-four miles. I remember vividly an incident of my own boyhood days. Father and I carried a sack of grain, either wheat or rye, I have forgotten which, on our backs to Beaulieu's gristmill about a mile or so below the dam opposite Hunt's store. It was a trip of some sixteen miles going and coming, over horrible roads. We were compelled to make this trip three times before we got our grain ground.

After a time things grew more convenient. In the wintertime farmers near Fond du Lac used to take loads of flour to Green Bay, a distance of about sixty-five miles. Of course they would gladly sell their whole load somewhere on the way if they could find a buyer. John Kobussen, our rich neighbor, occasionally bought one or more loads of flour and then disposed of it to his neighbors.

There was a stopping place at Dundas, about one mile from our place, kept by an enterprising American named Beach, the father of a large family of boys. He kept the post office and had a large, well-cultivated farm. At his place most of the travelers and flour sellers were in the habit of stopping. He was about twenty-five years ahead of his surrounding neighbors with respect to his buildings and other improvements. On one occasion a Hollander asked Beach to give him the post-office address in full, in order that he might send it to his Boston relatives. Beach wrote: "Send your letters to Dundas Post Office, Calumet County, Wis." Thereafter the Boston correspondent would always address his letters to his Wisconsin relative thus: "Mr. Henry Fink, send your letters to Dundas Post Office, Calumet County, Wis." Naturally the queer address caused much merriment among the postmasters.

Another enterprising Yankee, a regular New Englander, was Ballard, a good-hearted industrious bachelor. I often

worked for him, for he lived only half a mile from our place. In spring and fall especially, he would hire "the general," as he delighted to call me, to help him plant or dig potatoes and do other light work. He kept his house scrupulously clean and tidy and had periodicals and newspapers and quite a library. With "the general" he would discuss all kinds of questions, occasionally urging me to hurry up when I paid more attention to my employer's talk than to my work. He doubtless conceived a liking for me because I was fond of reading and he had a large number of well-chosen books which I delighted to read.

Road making was carried on in those days in rather primitive fashion. The citizens would vote a certain amount of road tax at the regular town meeting, or election day. The farmers elected a "pathmaster" who had charge of the roads in a certain district. When the time came to work on them, he would send notice to all the tax payers within his district to come on a certain day to the place appointed to work on the road. The farmers would meet, perhaps at nine o'clock in the morning, with axes, shovels, and grub hoes and begin to build a corduroy bridge over some creek, throwing over the logs a few shovelsful of dirt; or, if there was a mudhole to be filled up, they would cut some green brush, throw it into the hole, and scatter over it a few shovels of earth and lo! the road was fixed. More than once I have worked on the road and though but a boy of fifteen to seventeen years I believe I did more work than the average farmer when working out his road tax.

I traveled very little during my boyhood. I went a few times to Green Bay, Appleton, and Little Chute. As to Depere I have no distinct recollection, although of course I must have passed through it on my way to Green

Bay. In those days we called the place "Rapides des Peres," which was afterwards abbreviated to Depere. The ancient name, a French appellation, was derived from the fact that from 1672 to about the year 1720 the Jesuit Fathers had a house of their order and a church there.

In a letter dated at Green Bay, June 11, 1831, Right Reverend Bishop Fenwick of Cincinnati speaks of Reverend Mazzuchelli as having traveled with him from Mackinac to Green Bay; also of Mrs. Dousman,[1] a pious Catholic widow. I met the latter later on in Keshena in 1866 where she was then a teacher, perhaps also a government interpreter to some extent. She acted as interpreter for me also, and I never saw a woman so lively, energetic, and expressive in gesture and tone in her conversation. The Bishop also states in the letter to which I have referred that he had chosen the site for a new church halfway between Averino (Navarino) and Shantytown, for which two acres of land had been promised. I remember passing through Shantytown on my trips to Green Bay and hearing the people speak a language of which I could not understand a word. I learned afterwards that they were Belgian Walloons.

I made several trips to Appleton. On one of them, I remember, I went with a neighbor of ours to get a load of grain ground. Both Green Bay and Appleton seem to me to have been then about the size of Bayfield at the present time. Little Chute was a rural hamlet with from twelve to fifteen houses, a store belonging to John Verstegen, and a long, low, frame church on the bluff facing Fox River. The majority of the farmers in that vicinity were Hollanders who had come to America in 1848 and the following years.

[1] For a sketch of Mrs. Dousman see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XIX, 105, note 42.

Farming in those days on land full of stumps and roots was conducted in very primitive fashion. When a man had succeeded in cutting down the trees and chopping them into logs of fourteen to sixteen feet in length, he had to pile them up. This was a laborious task, especially if he had no oxen or horses. I remember how, when I was a lad of about thirteen, we had to work with might and main to roll up the heavy logs into piles to burn. Father was a small man, below medium size, but Mother was a large and strong woman and we boys had to work like little men. When the difficult task of burning the logs and brush had been accomplished, we cultivated the land thus wrested from the primitive forest.

For the first two years we had no oxen and so were compelled to plow with heavy grub hoes. Oftentimes our wrists would ache from digging and working in the hard, rooty ground. We would hoe a great number of hills in which to plant potatoes and corn. When the plants appeared above ground it was necessary to hoe them again to kill the weeds and get the crop to grow. Of course we had to dig the potatoes with our heavy grub hoes and stow them away in some kind of root house or cellar. It was hard, slavish work throughout the entire year. There were no mowing machines, and I remember seeing Father cut our grain with a sickle, such as was used 4,000 years ago. The first improvement on the sickle was the cradle, with which a good cradler might cut five acres in a day, provided he had strong arms and an iron will. Haymaking was carried on much as it had been in Old Testament times. Heat, fatigues, and sweat were expended lavishly in procuring food for the stock.

In spite of the want of modern machinery, however, the farms grew in size and value year by year. First, five to ten acres of stumpy and rooty land, a small log

house with wooden chimney and floor made of hewn logs or rough boards, a small stable for the cattle, a pigpen, and a henhouse—such were the rude beginnings of farm life in those days. However, things began gradually to change for the better. Frame house and barn took the place of the old log buildings; horses replaced the slow, patient oxen; the roads became more fit for travel; board fences replaced those made of rails; thus primitive Wisconsin developed into one of the most prosperous states of the Union. This transformation was largely wrought by the strong arm and tireless industry of the now-sometimes-despised foreigner. The German, Dutch, and Irish immigrants dug our canals, built our railroads, cleared our forests, and made a paradise of what was but a few years before a dreary wilderness, the habitation of uncivilized Indians and of wild animals.

In the summer of 1859 I determined to train for the priesthood and began to study Latin, Greek, and French under the instruction of our first pastor in Hollandtown, Reverend Father Spierings. He was a countryman of mine and was also a dear friend whom I shall never forget. After the death of my father Reverend Spierings sent me to the Seminary of St. Francis near Milwaukee to continue my studies. A neighbor took me as far as Brothertown and from there I walked all the way to Fond du Lac, arriving late in the evening or rather in the night. If ever there was a tired boy, I was the one, for I had walked twenty-five or thirty miles carrying a heavy grip. Next day I took the train to Milwaukee and walked out to the Seminary, a distance of about five or six miles. A Jew, a countryman, accosted me on the sidewalk and, overflowing with suavity, smiles, and friendliness, invited me to enter his store and urged me to buy a watch, but his officiousness and excessive suavity made me distrust him.

I began to surmise that he must be a Jew, a race of which I had heard so much at home, and I told him I did not need a watch just then, nor anything else. He then pressed me to buy at least a pair of suspenders, but without avail, and I finally got away from my importunate Jewish countryman.

My seminary days were passed during the stormy period of our Civil War, 1861–65. I was drafted for service but I attempted to be released on the plea of being a subject of the king of Holland. To establish this fact I obtained from our Dutch consul in Milwaukee a document about two feet square, the cost of which was $3. Armed with it and with $300 in my pocket, partly procured at home and partly through the efforts of kind friends, especially Father Gernbauer, I presented myself at the provost marshal's office in Milwaukee. That officer questioned me as to my parents and I told him that Father had taken out his first citizenship papers in Boston; and that subsequently he had voted in Wisconsin, as other aliens had done. I was thereupon most solemnly declared to be a citizen of the United States, having been a minor when I came into the country in 1848 and my Father having voted; accordingly I was told to step into a side room to be examined. I was as sound as a dollar and knew that I would not have any chance to escape military duty on the score of physical ailments or defects. So I told the marshal I would pay the commutation fee of $300, in order to be absolved from military duty. I was then taken by a soldier to an adjoining building where I paid my money and received a receipt exempting me from military duty for three years. This document is still preserved in the courthouse in Superior.

I walked back to the Seminary in a very pensive mood. About three or four months later came the spring election,

and as I had paid $300 for my American citizenship I thought I would go to the polls to vote. The voting lords recognized that I was a stranger and some one challenged my right to vote, requiring me to swear to my citizenship. I told them how I had been drafted and been declared a citizen liable to military duty, and that I had paid $300 commutation money to exempt me from military service. Notwithstanding this the election board declared I was no citizen and, therefore, had no right to vote. I was so deeply disgusted at this manifest humbug and conceived so great a dislike for Uncle Sam that I did not take out my citizenship papers until about fifteen years later.

During my vacation time in the summer of 1862 I was working at a neighbor's place helping to thresh grain. I believe it was the first time I ever saw grain threshed with a machine instead of with the flail as had always been done in my boyhood. While thus engaged there suddenly came to us the startling report: "The Indians are coming! they are killing the whites!" The threshing ceased instantly and every man hastened home to get his gun to go to fight the Indians. I, too, hurried home. Father was dead, and Mother and Brother Cornelius were the only remaining members of the family. The latter was confined to the house on account of a sore foot. Not having bullets or lead, I pounded some pewter spoons into bullets and started for Hollandtown with loaded gun. There all was in an uproar. People had abandoned their farms in terror and dismay, some to hide in the woods, others to seek refuge in the village. Reverend Van Luytelaar was then the pastor of the Hollandtown congregation. His house was full of women with crying babies, many of whom were laid crosswise on his bed. All kinds of wild reports were in circulation; some said that the Indians

had been driven into a swamp and surrounded; others had still wilder tales to relate.

I think it was in the afternoon when we first heard of the Indians coming and killing the white people. It was decided that after dark some men should be posted on the outskirts of the town as sentinels to watch and report any Indians that might be coming; others, myself amongst the rest, were to go to the intersection of the Military and Kaukaulo roads and watch there. It was a bright, moonlight night when my worthy neighbor, Ballard, carrying two guns, and I wended our way homeward, for we were hungry, not having eaten anything since noon. "Look out general," the fat Yankee would say to me, when I would walk carelessly along, "look out, general, walk as much as possible in the shade, not in the moonlight. The Indians may see and shoot you." At length we posted ourselves behind a fence near the road. Woe to the poor Indian, if he had come along that way! He would have been shot down without mercy or inquiry. Luckily no redskins showed themselves, and we finally got up and went home.

After eating supper I went alone to the crossing mentioned above. There was a small clearing near by in which I noticed a fire burning. Probably the people had been burning brush and chips on the land that afternoon and had fled into the woods or to town when news of the Indian foray came. Seeing nothing suspicious I walked a few rods from the road into the woods, stood my gun up against a tree, and lay down and slept soundly until morning, for I was tired out by the day's work and my trip to the village and return. I learned afterwards that some men, who had been working on the Fox River Canal near Little Chute and whose folks lived in or near Hollandtown, had been on their way to this village that night.

When they reached the intersection of the Military and Kaukaulo roads they saw the fire and all at once some pigs began to squeal. "Oh! the Indians are there! See the fire! Hear the pigs! They are killing everything!" And my brave countrymen ran at top speed back to Little Chute to tell the terrified people there the fearful news about the Indians' doings. Of course they had not seen a single Indian, but terror made them imagine all kinds of wild sights. The next day the Indian scare which, I subsequently learned, extended all over Wisconsin was over, and many a ludicrous story was told about what had been done during the universal fright.

This scare on the part of the people of Wisconsin, especially of those dwelling in the northern part of the State, was not without some reason, for at that very time Hole-in-the-Day had planned to attack Crow Wing, Minnesota, and kill the whites there and in that vicinity. The project was frustrated by the efforts of a venerable Catholic priest of seventy-seven years, Reverend Father Pierz[1] (Pirec was his Slavonian name) who induced Hole-in-the-Day to give up his cruel design.[2]

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[1] Francis Xavier Pierz was born in Carniola, Austria, in 1785. At the request of Father Baraga, Pierz in 1835 came to the United States and was a missionary at Sault Ste. Marie, La Pointe, and l'Arbre Croche. In 1852 he removed to Crow Wing on the Mississippi where he ministered until 1864. In 1873 he returned to his native land where he died in 1880.

[2] As the writers on the Minnesota massacre, either designedly or from ignorance do not mention this fact, I will give the account as it is found in *Acta et Dicta*, III, 83–84, published by the St. Paul Catholic Historical Society:

"Through his [Rev. Pirec's] influence with the chiefs he frequently averted wars and hostile expeditions among them. He prevented the threatened massacre of the inhabitants of Crow Wing in 1862. From a friendly Indian he received the information that the Red men of Leech Lake under the leadership of Chief Holeda were preparing to attack the above named village. Father Pirec at once set out towards the camp in a dark forest. When approaching the place where the council of war was held he was halted by two heavily armed horsemen, who refused to let him pass the "dead-line." The sentinels informed him that no white man was allowed to pass alive beyond that spot. But as

On November 5, 1865 I was ordained with many others and sent to New London, Wisconsin. The village at that time was small and the inhabitants consisted of Americans, Irish, Germans, and Poles. I think New London was not far from the site of the ancient village of the "Oudagamig" after whom Outagamie County has been named.[11] I had the whole of Waupaca County for my mission district and I was almost always on the road traveling from one place to another. The people, mostly Irish, were very kind to their priest and many a pleasant evening I spent with them, they telling me about old Ireland and generally winding up their narratives with some uncanny ghost story. A few days after my arrival in New London I had to go to Waupaca, the county seat, to register my clergyman's certificate. It was a warm, sunny afternoon

the good father insisted, he was lifted bodily from the ground and carried across the danger point. The chiefs were sullen and silent at the approach of the aged black-robe; but after half an hour's convincing and serious talk on the evils of war Pirec succeeded in showing them how useless it is for them to wage war against the whites. Holeda finally grasped the missionary's hand and promised that the next day the chiefs would come to Crow Wing to make peace. Matters were finally settled in an amicable manner the following day."

This is but a summary account of the affair. Many years ago I read a more detailed description of it, but I cannot find it now. There is no doubt that Father Pierz averted—and that at the danger of his own life—the intended massacre of the whites at Crow Wing. He took his life in his hands in daring to go to the hostile Indian camp. What saved him from being killed was the respect they had for him, knowing him to be a kind-hearted, good old man. None of the Indians, as he afterwards declared, was Catholic.—C. A. V.

[11] These Indians called themselves "Miskwakig," that is, "Red Land People," probably from the fact that they inhabited a country where red clay was the predominant soil. They were called by the French, Reynards (Foxes), and their territory seems to have stretched northward from Lake Winnebago and along the Wolf and Fox rivers. They were constantly at war with the Chippewa and later on with the French. Father Claude Allouez, S. J., first visited them early in the spring of 1670 and on March 25 of that year, St. Mark's Day, he said Mass at their village for the first time and hence named the place "The Mission of St. Mark." From Marquette's map of 1674 it appears that the village was located on Wolf River about due west from the head of Green Bay at Depere, which would indicate that it must have been somewhere in the vicinity of New London.—C. A. V.

when, on horseback and but thinly clad, I started for Waupaca via Weyauwega, but the weather soon changed. Shivering with cold I came to Weyauwega where I stayed over night. Next morning I continued my journey, the weather being still very cold. On the way the horse stumbled and fell, throwing me over his head on to the frozen ground. Luckily no bones were broken but my wrists ached from striking the hard ground with my hands. I rode on, however, and about noon arrived at Waupaca. I put up at a hotel and after dinner called upon the proper county official and had my certificate registered. Then I started homeward via Ogdensburg, Royalton, and Northport to New London. The weather was so cold that I was frequently forced to dismount and walk in order to warm myself somewhat; then I would mount and ride until the biting wind forced me again to take to walking. Finally, after dark, I arrived at the house of Sullivan, near Royalton, where I stayed over night. After a good warming up and an appetizing supper, I was shown my bedroom. "Father," said Mrs. Sullivan, "not long ago a woman died in that room and before she died she saw five ghosts coming into it." A creeping sensation of terror came over me at this news of walking spirits. I believe in all my life I never said my bedside prayers as fervently as I did that night; but I was tired out by the hardships of the day and when I got into the warm bed I slept as soundly as a bear, and if ghostly visitors put in an appearance I did not notice them. Next day I returned safe and sound to my residence, which consisted of a couple of rooms in the second story of an old frame house. Later on I built a small parsonage for myself near the church.

Towards the end of December, 1865 I went to Keshena via Bear Creek, Clintonville, and Shawano, riding all

the way on horseback and carrying my vestments in a saddlebag. Here and there were small clearings and poor log houses. At Clintonville I saw but one house in the midst of a small clearing. Whether there was a village of the same name somewhere else, not on my route, I can not tell, but I believe not. At Shawano, which was then but a mere hamlet, I stopped over night at the house of Doctor Wiley, who was married to a daughter of Mrs. Dousman, a half-breed lady, one of whose daughters was a government teacher at Keshena.

The Menominees were first visited by Father Allouez in 1669, and subsequently by Father André, S. J. Father Marquette, who stopped at their village in 1673 on his voyage of discovery and exploration of the Mississippi, says that some of them were Christians. They tried to dissuade him from his intended exploration, depicting in most lively fashion the many dangers which he would encounter.[1] In 1853 Reverend Father Skolla, O. S. Fr. St. Obs. went to them and labored among them about two years.[2] They finally turned against him for various superstitious reasons. Occasionally Father Skolla played chess all by himself in his poor habitation, while some distrustful Indians watched him stealthily through some window or aperture in the wall. Seeing the chessmen of two different colors arranged on the board, fighting one another as it were, they concluded that the game was "bad medicine" used by the whites to exterminate the red man. The Father had also a large cat to which at

[1] See Reuben G. Thwaites (ed.), *Jesuit Relations* (Cleveland, 1896–1901), LXIV to LXIX, *passim*.

[2] Rev. Otton Skolla, born in Carniola, Austria, in 1805, was ordained in 1831 and came to America in 1841. He was stationed at Detroit in 1842; at Mackinac, 1843–45; and at La Pointe from the latter year to 1853. Thence he was sent to the Menominee Indians for whom he built a chapel at Keshena, Wis. Father Skolla died at Fiume, Austria, in 1879.

times he would talk or say some words, and this again was interpreted as "bad medicine," for how could a man converse with a cat if they did not understand each other? At length a pagan Chippewa told them that the Father dug up the bodies of the dead (I suppose also for "bad medicine") and, pointing to a box on which he was sitting, asserted that it contained human flesh. These absurd and malevolent stories turned the people against the priest and he was obliged to leave in 1855, returning to his native land, where he died many years later.

After Father Skolla's departure Father Mazeaud[1] was stationed in Keshena, where he became imbroiled with the Indian agent and was arrested for persisting, contrary to the agent's prohibition, in having church services during a season of smallpox. At the time I visited the natives in 1865 and in March, 1866, they had had no divine service for some years. The first time I visited Keshena I stayed for some days at the house of the Indian agent, who treated me very kindly. The second time, in March, I stayed at the house of Mrs. Dousman, who acted as my interpreter. Later on Father Maschelein[2] had charge of the Menominee mission for many years, but as he was getting old and infirm the mission was finally given in charge to the Franciscan Fathers. They continue to labor there, having a large frame church and boarding school for Indian children not far from the government school.

In 1868 I was sent by Right Reverend Bishop--after-

[1] Father Mazeaud was a French priest who officiated at Keshena, 1863–64. He was arrested and taken to Shawano where he was released and departed for Milwaukee, never to return.

[2] Father Amandus Maschelein was at Keshena from 1875 until 1880. He built the Catholic church for the Menominee in 1875. He did not know their language and was obliged to communicate through an interpreter. In September, 1880 the Franciscans from St. Louis arrived and the aged priest, Maschelein, retired.

wards Archbishop--Henni[1] of Milwaukee to Hudson. Here I had a large territory under my care, namely, St. Croix, Polk, and Pierce counties, my mission extending from Long Lake in Polk County to Diamond Bluff, about fifteen miles below Prescott. The principal places were Hudson, Prescott, Big River, Somerset, and Farmington.

Hudson was at that time (1868–72) a thriving town with a good farming country adjacent. Before the railroad was built into it the farmers from Erin Prairie, New Richmond, Hammond, Pleasant Valley, and other places used to haul their grain to Hudson and do their trading there. I think the railroad took much of this trade away as thereafter people brought their grain to the nearest railroad station and did their trading at that place.

There are two St. Croix lakes, the upper and the lower. The upper lake extends from Solon Springs--formerly White Birch--to Gordon. The Chippewa name is Wigwassikag (Wig-wau-se-kaug), which means a place where there are many white birch trees. They call St. Croix River "Manominikeshi Sibi [Man-no-me-ne-kesh-e-Sebe]," Wild Rice Bird, or Snipe, River. The lower St. Croix Lake, from Stillwater to Prescott, where it empties into the Mississippi River, is called by the Indians "Gigo-Agomod [Ge-go-Aug-o-mod]."[2] An Indian told me the following legend concerning this lake. In the olden time, before the advent of the palefaces, two Indians were hunting on the shores of the Lake. Evening came and

[1] John Martin Henni was born in Switzerland in 1805; in 1829 he met Bishop Fenwick of Ohio at Rome, and at his solicitation came to America. Shortly afterwards he was ordained at Bardstown, Ky. In 1843 he was elected bishop of Milwaukee, and having been consecrated, proceeded to his diocese, where he arrived May 3, 1844. He became archbishop in 1875, and his death occurred Sept. 7, 1881.

[2] This signifies "something floating."

they had nothing to eat except two fish which one of them had caught. "Friend," said he to his companion, "take one of the fish to eat." "Never mind," replied the other, "tomorrow we will get some game. When I eat fish, I become very thirsty and can't stop drinking." At length, however, he yielded to his friend's request and ate one of the fish. He became very thirsty and during the night his companion had to go frequently to the lake and fetch water in a birch-bark vessel; this the thirsty man would hastily drink and fall asleep again. In a short time, however, he would awake and call for more water. Finally, his companion grew tired and fell asleep. His friend awaking called out to him to get more water, but being sound asleep the water carrier did not hear the request; so the thirsty Indian arose and going to the edge of the lake lay down and drank to his heart's content. When his friend awoke he missed his thirsty companion and immediately went down to the lake. But lo! there was no more water in it! The thirsty hunter had drunk all the water, only here and there could be seen some pools of muddy water where some fish were floating about; hence the Chippewa name.

At a very early day there was a French fort or trading post up the St. Croix River, at the mouth of Yellow River, probably built about the year 1686. I suppose it was the French traders who named the stream "St. Croix [Holy Cross] River."[1]

[1] The fur-trade post on Yellow River was built much later than the author thinks. It was established in the latter part of the eighteenth century. See report of a trader there in 1803–4 in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XX, 396–471. There were, however, seventeenth-century trading posts on the St. Croix-Brule waterway. Duluth took this route in 1680 and may have established a temporary post at upper St. Croix Lake. Le Sueur had trading posts to protect this waterway in 1693. See *id.*, XVI, 173, note 1.

St. Croix River was named for an early coureur de bois of that name who was wrecked at its mouth. *Ibid.*, 185–86.

In 1872 I was sent to Seneca, Crawford County, a hamlet of about a dozen houses some twenty-two miles north of Prairie du Chien. The people, about 130 Irish families, were industrious and well behaved, most of them being farmers. I was the first resident priest, the place having previously been attended by the priest from Rising Sun. During my six-year stay there I built a church and a parsonage. Oftentimes I used to go to Prairie du Chien to visit my clerical friends there. Through the generosity of John Lawler a large college was bought and liberally endowed, and a large academy for Notre Dame Sisters established.[1] Both institutions are in a flourishing condition and are doing a noble educational work. Lawler was a noble-hearted, energetic, self-made man and a model Catholic. While in Seneca I became acquainted with Walter Fardy, a bright young man, who was then teaching school somewhere in the vicinity. He studied for the priesthood, was ordained, and subsequently was stationed at New Richmond and Superior. For many years he was vicar-general of the diocese of Superior; he died last autumn in West Superior, where he was buried.

As the Indians of the La Crosse diocese had had no resident priest for three years (1875–78) Bishop Heiss, then bishop of La Crosse but afterwards archbishop of Milwaukee,[2] requested me to go to the Lake Superior

[1] John Lawler was born in Ireland, May 4, 1832; he came to America at the age of four and at fifteen entered the railway construction business. When the first railroad reached Prairie du Chien in 1857 he was appointed station agent and two years later general agent. Lawler accumulated a fortune in the transportation business, building in 1874 the pontoon bridge across the Mississippi; he was a liberal patron of education and was awarded by the pope the knighthood of St. Gregory. He died Feb. 24, 1891. St. Mary's Institute for girls was founded in 1872 on the grounds of old Fort Crawford. The college of the Sacred Heart founded about the same time is now a training school for the Jesuit Order.

[2] Michael Heiss was born in Bavaria, April 17, 1812. He was ordained at Munich in 1840, and two years later came to the United States. In 1844 he went

country. I arrived at Bayfield on June 19, 1878 and for about half a year had charge of this place, and also of La Pointe (Madelaine Island) and Bad River Reservation.

The whites first visited the region at the western end of Lake Superior about the year 1659.[1] For a decade thereafter French missionaries made valiant attempts to establish Christianity and civilization in this region. The last of these early missionaries, the famous Father Jacques Marquette, was forced to flee the country with his people in the summer of 1671 through fear of the bloodthirsty Sioux. In July, 1835, 164 years after the departure of Father Marquette from Chequamegon Bay, Rev. (later Bishop) Frederic Baraga[2] came to reëstablish there the Catholic church. Of the character of La Pointe and its population in Baraga's time Vincent Roy,[3] formerly of Superior but now deceased, says in a letter addressed to the present writer:

There were no pure European families in La Pointe at that time (1835–43); European males married into mixed-blood families, with the

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to assist Bishop Henni at Milwaukee, and in 1868 was made bishop of La Crosse. In 1880 Bishop Heiss became coadjutor of Archbishop Henni, whom the next year he succeeded. He died at La Crosse, March 26, 1890.

[1] The date of the visit of the first white explorers of Lake Superior, Radisson and Groseilliers, is somewhat in doubt; it may not have been until 1661.

[2] Frederic Baraga was born in Carniola, Austria, June 29, 1797. He was a law student at the University of Vienna, took orders in 1823, and in 1830 came to America. From 1831–33 he was missionary at l'Arbre Croche, and from 1833–35 at Grand River, Mich. In 1835 he went to the Lake Superior region and reëstablished the mission at La Pointe where in 1835 he built a church. In 1843 Baraga founded a mission at L'Anse; in 1853 he was consecrated bishop of Upper Michigan and removed his headquarters to Sault Ste. Marie. In 1865 the see was transferred to Marquette where on Jan. 19, 1868 Bishop Baraga died. His linguistic knowledge was great, and he published a Chippewa grammar and dictionary.

[3] Vincent Roy was born on Rainy Lake in 1825, his father being a French trader, his mother a Chippewa squaw. At fourteen, he was sent to school at La Pointe, but he soon entered the fur trade, having an early post on the site

exception of the families of the Presbyterian mission—Rev. Sherman Hall and Teacher Sprote (two families). The population varied very much according to the season. In the winter they would number about thirty or forty mixed-blood families, besides a very few pagan Indian families. In the summer the population would about double in all shades of color. It must be borne in mind that La Pointe was pre-eminently the Indian depot for the distribution of goods to the different minor posts, and it was necessarily the headquarters for all engaged in the fur traffic. Fishing was also carried on very extensively. Those who were engaged in this occupation were those who remained at home during the winter, mending their nets and making preparations for the next season's work. Fishing was also a branch of the American Fur Company's business.

There was but one store and that was the fur company's. They carried in stock everything that was necessary—groceries, dry goods, hardware, etc. The grocery department occupied a two-story building about the same size as the dry goods department building, one standing on each side of a street leading from a dock about the same place where the present dock is. There was also a banking department, which was situated about 200 feet east of the other buildings. *There was no saloon.* There were two carpenter shops, one operated by Mr. Perinier and the other by Dufault, also one large cooper shop maintained by the company, one blacksmith shop, etc. There was also one very large warehouse for repacking fish; it was about 200 feet long and was situated on the dock. In the rear of these buildings the company also maintained a very extensive garden and orchard, in which were raised all kinds of garden vegetables, grapes, cherries, crabapples, currants, strawberries, etc. This was enclosed by a high board fence and was in charge of old man Oakes, father of Charles H. Oakes, lately of St. Paul, who was an expert gardener. Antoine Gaudin (Gordon) assisted him one or two years. "Squire Bell" was at La Pointe upon my arrival in 1839. Rabidoux, Charpentier, Dufault (Dénommais) were there before me. Remillard came two or three years after me. Stahls and O'Malley came during Father Chebul's time, about 1860–61. Borup and Oakes were headmen for the fur company (John Jacob Astor). All voyageurs, "runners," as they were called, were employed by said company. They would leave La Pointe about the beginning of September, stay away all fall and winter among the Indians in their respective districts, collect furs, and return about the beginning of June. They would take along blankets, clothes, guns, etc., to trade with the Indians for their

of Superior, of which city he was a founder in 1845. Twice Roy visited Washington (in 1852 and 1866) in the interests of the Chippewa tribesmen. In 1868 he established a store at Superior, where on April 2, 1896 he died.

furs. They took along very little provisions, as they depended mostly on hunting, fishing, wild rice, and trade with the Indians for their support. There were several depots for depositing goods and collecting furs, for instance at Fond du Lac (Minnesota,) Sand Lake, Courtes Oreilles, Lac du Flambeau, Mouth of Yellow River, etc. The vessels used on Lake Superior for the fur trade were the "John Jacob Astor," a three-masted schooner, the "Brewster," and the "Siskowit" built by old man Perinier.

The Presbyterian school was then in full operation under Rev. Sherman Hall, the number of scholars at this school was about forty.[1]

When I came to the Lake Superior country in 1878, about forty years after Baraga's time, I found La Pointe old, dilapidated, and dead, instead of full of life and stir as it had been in his day. No trading post, no fur traffic, the buildings all gone except some old, tumbling-down structures, no orchard, no garden; the thriving community of 1835 was gone and in its place were a few rickety buildings, some of logs, others, frame structures. One day about the year 1884 I took a walk along the beach and entered the old Presbyterian boarding-school building. It was then open and tenantless. The church was the very picture of dilapidation. I believe some one had stored hay in it. Some years ago it was removed to its present site, and the boarding school has been repaired and remodeled into a neat hotel for summer tourists.

La Pointe is now entering upon a new transformation; it is fast becoming a tourist's resort to which in July and August many come from all parts of the South. The time is not far distant when it will become a fashionable pleasure resort. The old church built by Reverend Father Baraga in 1835 and removed in 1841 to the site where the new Catholic church now stands burned down in 1901. The fire was apparently of incendiary origin as there had been no divine service in the building for some days prior

[1] For this missionary see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XII, 442–47.

to its destruction. An attractive new church was built on the site of the old one in 1902 by Reverend [Father] Casimir Vogt, O. F. M.[1]

There have been resident priests in La Pointe and Bayfield for the last eighty years, yet it is a remarkable fact that not a single one has died there in all that time.

In the summer of 1878 Right Reverend Bishop Heiss of La Crosse offered the Indian missions of his diocese to the Franciscan Fathers of the Sacred Heart Province with headquarters at St. Louis, Missouri. The latter order sent Rev. Kilian Schloesser, O. F. M., to investigate the state of affairs among the Chippewa Indians at Bayfield and other places near by. He went to Bad River Reservation and held a council with the Indians, the result of which was that he made a favorable report to the Chapter assembled at St. Louis and it was determined to accept the Indian missions of the Lake Superior region. Fathers Casimir Vogt and John Gafron with Brother Juniper arrived at Bayfield about the middle of October and took charge of the Indians at that place, La Pointe, Bad River, and other inland points. I was then sent to Superior where I arrived about November 6, 1878.

Superior was then a dead town with but few inhabitants and nothing going on. A man might stand a whole day on the principal street of the town without seeing a single wagon or team go by. Most of the houses were empty and there were but a few small stores. A small steamer, about thirty feet long, ran between Superior and Duluth, carrying generally half a dozen passengers going to Duluth to

[1] Casimir Vogt was born in 1846 at Wurzen, Prussia; he was educated at Breslau and ordained in 1870. In 1875 he joined the Order of St. Francis and the same year came to America and was sent to Lake Superior as a Chippewa missionary in 1878. He made his headquarters at Bayfield from 1878–88, and ministered throughout the northern country. From 1884–91 he was at Superior. The latter year he returned to Bayfield.

make their purchases. The boat was owned by George Brooks. There were about forty-five Catholic families in the town, of whom fifteen were white and the remainder Indian half-breeds.

For eleven months I had charge of the Catholic people of Duluth and Superior, Father Genin having gone to France to visit relatives. During the year I also attended Fond du Lac (Minnesota), Cloquet Reservation, Barnum, and Moose Lake. There were then about 130 Catholic families in Duluth, of whom about one-half were Poles, the remainder being Irish, Germans, and French-Canadians. There was but one small frame Catholic church in Superior and only one in Duluth, where the cathedral now stands. Now (1916) there are eight Catholic churches in Duluth and eighteen priests, while in Superior there are nine churches and eleven priests; in addition there are two bishops, one in each city.

During the four years I was stationed at Superior the Franciscan Fathers of Bayfield attended the white and Indian missions of northern Wisconsin, then almost fifty in number. These self-sacrificing, zealous Fathers did almost all their traveling on foot, in winter on snowshoes. While one remained in Bayfield to attend to the spiritual wants of the people in that vicinity the other would start out on his trip to the Indians in the region of the St. Croix and Chippewa rivers, the round trip being, at a moderate estimate, a distance of 400 miles. This was kept up summer and winter, in cold weather and in hot, in sunshine and in rain, sleeping in the open air or in some log house or Indian wigwam. The traveling Father would take one or two Indian guides or packers along to help carry his luggage and tent and cooking utensils. He depended for food on supplies he had taken along, or on what was prepared for him by the good Indian and

white people—muskrat, raccoon, bear meat, fish, and venison being common articles of diet. He would go from one Indian hamlet to another situated miles apart on the countless inland lakes and rivers, preach, baptize, marry people, hear confessions, and administer the sacraments; when through at one place he would pack up his belongings and go to the next only to repeat the same multifarious work. And all this for poor Indians, who never realized the hardships and sacrifices that the "Black Gown" was making for them to bring them the light and blessings of Christianity. In those days the Fathers would travel all over the country in their brown, worn-out Franciscan habit, which they would not change till they returned home. Verily, theirs was a hard but apostolic life, traveling without roads, riding in canoes, wading rivers, tormented in the summer by mosquitoes and sand flies, and in winter enduring all the hardships of this inclement season in northern Wisconsin; and all this not for money but to save immortal souls redeemed by the precious blood of our Saviour. To them the soul of a poor Indian child was as dear as that of the white millionaire.

To give the reader of these pages some idea of the hardships and dangers those apostolic men incurred, I will narrate here a few incidents that happened to Father Casimir.

One day he was traveling along the Chippewa River, visiting his scattered people, many of whom worked during the winter in the logging camps. Incidentally he used to collect among the "boys" for his churches and chapels. In one of the camps he was told that there was another camp about three miles away and that if he could get there in time the "boys" might contribute something. About two hours after midnight he arose and started for the camp. The "boys" had told him about the

route and had given him a lighted lantern to take along. After he had walked for a mile or so, he noticed about a dozen dogs, as he thought them to be, circling around him, some running ahead, others following behind, others again running through the woods on both sides of the road. He thought it strange to see so many dogs around these camps, and some inward monitor told him to keep swinging his lantern around him. So he walked on, followed by the animals for two whole miles. A length he arrived at the camp and went inside. A moment later one of the men had occasion to go out. Presently he came in again and remarked, "I wonder why there are so many wolves around." "Wolves!" exclaimed Father Casimir, "I thought they were dogs." It was a lucky thing that the good Father did not realize his danger and that his lantern did not go out, or that he did not stumble or fall to the ground. Had any of these things occurred he would have been devoured in a short time.

The same Father one time planned to go straight through the woods from Big Bend to Flambeau Farm. It was early in the spring after the snow had melted and the bottom lands along the Chippewa River were all under water. Doubtless the Father did not fully realize this fact, otherwise he would not have undertaken the journey, a distance of about ten miles on foot through those lowlands. He had himself conveyed across the river and started on his journey. It was not long before he came to lower land, all of which was submerged, and the water icy cold. No road or path was to be seen, nothing but water between the trees, which at times was knee deep or even more. At any moment he might have stepped into a hole and drowned. His fatigue and misery were increased, moreover, by the fact that he carried a satchel. Once he climbed a tree to reconnoiter the country through

which he was traveling and to see which way to go. But his clothes being wet he slipped and fell, hurting himself badly. He had shortly to cross a creek running into the main river. To wade it would have been dangerous as the water might have been too deep, so he walked along the bank for some distance seeking a place to pass over; finally he found a long pole and with the help of it jumped across the creek. He then continued towards his destination wading through the icy water, until he finally arrived at Flambeau Farm. The good people of the place, whites and Indians, marveled at seeing the Father and learning of his terrible tramp through the bottom lands. Only divine Providence brought him safely through.

After attending Superior for about three years I determined to join the Franciscan Order and in February, 1882 I entered upon my novitiate at Teutopolis, Illinois. Having finished my novitiate, I was sent in 1883 to Bayfield, from which place and, later on, from Ashland, I attended Washburn, Odanah, and the Chippewa River country. Ashland was but a mere hamlet in 1878, Washburn did not exist at all, and Odanah was an Indian village with a handful of Indian and white inhabitants, the latter being principally the employees of the Presbyterian Indian boarding school under the care of Reverend Baird.[1]

There was then but one railroad at Ashland, the Wisconsin Central, built into town about the year 1876. The town was as dead as Superior, only a small steamer plying between Ashland and Bayfield. In fact there was then more stir and business in Bayfield than in Ashland. About the year 1884 the town of Washburn was founded; a large

[1] Rev. Isaac Baird reached Odanah under appointment from the Presbyterian mission board, Mar. 15, 1873, and remained in charge of the school and church until 1884, when he was removed to Crystal Falls, Mich.

elevator, coal docks, and several sawmills were put up and the town grew rapidly. I erected a small frame church there, which, however, was soon replaced by a large combination church and school erected by Father Marianus Glahn, O. F. M. I also attended Hurley for some years. Here at first I held divine service in private houses and public halls; finally I began the erection of a large frame church, which was finished by my successor, Reverend Father Gilbert Nuono.[1]

In 1897 I was sent to St. Louis, Missouri, on account of failing health, and about a year and a half later to Los Angeles, California. At first I liked the climate in California very much, but later I grew tired of everlasting sunshine and in 1900 asked to be sent back to Wisconsin. For twelve years thereafter I was stationed at Ashland, engaged in attending outside missions, especially those in the Chippewa and the St. Croix country. But the infirmities of old age making themselves more and more felt, I was obliged to give up missionary life and was sent to Bayfield, where I have resided the last four years and where, perhaps, I shall end my days. I have devoted my spare time these many years to studying and composing works in the Chippewa language, among which I may mention "Chippewa Exercises" and a large Chippewa sermon book, the "Enamiad Gegikimind" or "The Instructed Christian."

[1] Gilbert Nuono was born in Italy in 1842; he was ordained in 1865 and came to America the same year. He was appointed to the Hurley pastorate in 1886, and after completing the church, built a school in 1891.

The Beginnings of the Norwegian Press in America[1]

By Albert O. Barton

The Norwegian press in America with its five-score or more present publications of some importance and its quarter of a million subscribers has been built up within the memory of men still living; and among other distinctions which the state of Wisconsin possesses is that of having been the cradle of this press, now represented by papers from ocean to ocean, from Texas to Manitoba. The first of these papers was the *Nordlyset* (Northern Light), established at Norway, Racine County, in 1847, with James Denoon Reymert as editor.

Before pursuing the thread of the history of this press, however, a brief notice of early Norwegian immigration, with other preliminary data, may be of interest and value in forming a background for a more intelligent consideration of the subject.

While numerous individual instances of Northmen coming to this country have been found antedating 1825, Norwegian immigration is generally dated from the arrival of the sloop, Restarautionen, at New York,

[1] While the greater portion of this paper is the result of original research I desire to make special acknowledgment for assistance obtained from the able and exhaustive study in Norwegian of the same subject published in 1914 by Carl Hansen, editor of Minneapolis *Tidende*, and J. B. Wist, editor of *Decorah Posten;* and to a monograph by Juul Dieserud of Washington, D. C. Only the most fragmentary articles on the subject in English have been found. Some of the publications mentioned in this paper, too, such as the *Wossingen*, for instance, appear hitherto to have escaped the notice of historians.

October 9, 1825. This little sloop of only forty-five tons—a mere shell—had sailed out of the harbor of Stavanger, Norway, on July 4 of that year with fifty-two passengers, and after a thrilling and romantic voyage arrived safely in New York with fifty-three passengers, a daughter having been born at sea on September 2 to Lars Larson and wife. Larson was the chief stockholder in the sloop and was generally regarded as the leader of the party.

This daughter, now Mrs. Margaret Allen Atwater, is still living at the age of 91 years, and is the last survivor of the famous sloop party. For many years she has made her home with a daughter in Chicago. In honor of an English woman for whom her father had worked in England, and through whom he was converted to the faith of the Quakers, she was christened Margaret Allen, and this was the only name she used until her marriage.

This sloop party had been inspired to emigrate through the representations of Kleng Peerson, whose monument in Texas credits him with being the first Norwegian emigrant to America. He had come to New York in 1821 and returned to Norway a couple of years later. Then returning to America ahead of the so-called sloopers, he met them at New York. As they had no particular destination in view they were aided by Quakers in New York to settle in what is now Kendall, Orleans County, New York, near the city of Rochester. In a letter written in April, 1916, Thomas Johannesen of Portland, Oregon, a descendant of one of the Kendall pioneers who has made some investigation into the history of that settlement, says: "It has come to my knowledge that Governor Clinton of New York gave the settlers land near Kendall, as the Erie Canal had just been built then and the terminus was at this place."

As this so-called Kendall settlement received no additions, however, it soon became Americanized, and as

early as 1834 some families had left with Kleng Peerson for the Fox River settlement in Illinois. No schools or churches were built in the Kendall settlement, and naturally nothing in the way of publications was attempted.

To digress a little further, while on the general subject of publications, it may be interesting to note that the first book published by a Norwegian in this country, so far as is known, was printed in the English language. This was a translation of Luther's small catechism made by Elling Eielson, the famous pioneer lay preacher, and was published by him in 1841. A copy of this now exceedingly scarce edition was recently found in the possession of a daughter of Eielson. It is entitled *Doctor Martin Luther's Small Catechism, With Plain Instruction for Children, and Sentences from the Word of God to Strengthen the Faith of the Meek. Translated from the Danish by Elling Eielson.* Printed at 176 Bowery, 1841.

The following year, 1842, Eielson had a small edition of the *Forklaring* printed, probably in a small German shop in New York, so that to him belongs the honor of having printed the first English and the first Norwegian book issued by a Norwegian on this side of the seas. Eielson was a most picturesque figure and the center of much controversy among his countrymen. He tramped from settlement to settlement, endured the greatest hardships, and even lived among the Indians and learned their language. He was the first Norwegian Lutheran minister ordained in this country, although some of his colleagues were not disposed to recognize his ordination as regular. With a small sum collected among the pioneers he went to New York and had a few copies of these books printed for use among the children. His purpose in having a catechism printed in English at this early period of Norwegian immigration is difficult to understand, unless it

was that he hoped thereby to draw American children into his fold. It seems hardly possible that Eielson was so far ahead of his time as to be influenced by an apprehension that the Norwegian tongue would not long survive in this country, although as early as 1853 the American-Norwegian newspapers of the day speculated as to the possibility of an early decline of the language here.

The first book written about America by a Norwegian was a small volume by Ole Rynning, which was published in Norway in 1839. Rynning came to America in the spring of 1837, and was one of the founders of the Beaver Creek settlement southeast of Chicago. In the spring of 1838 he wrote a small book on America for the enlightenment of his countrymen in Norway. He sent the manuscript with his friend, Ansten Nattestad, to Norway, where it was printed in 1839. In the meantime Rynning had died in the fall of 1838 from cold and fever contracted while working on the Illinois & Michigan Canal. Ansten Nattestad also took back with him the manuscript of a small journal kept by his brother, Ole Nattestad, which was also printed in Drammen. For years Scandinavian scholars in this country have been on the lookout for copies of this pamphlet. In April, 1916, H. L. Skavlem of Janesville discovered one in the possession of Henry Natesta, near Clinton, Wisconsin. This copy of what may be called the second book on America written by a Norwegian is now in the possession of the Wisconsin State Historical Society. The appearance of the Rynning and Nattestad publications created a great sensation in Norway. A later historian, Prof. Svein Nilsson, declared that it was as if one had risen from the dead and spoken. Peasants came from miles around to interview Nattestad, and many who scarcely knew their letters began studying

that they might be able to read Rynning's story. A great stimulus was given emigration through these publications.

The Muskego settlement, in which was issued the first Norwegian newspaper in this country, may be said to have been the fifth Norwegian settlement in the United States. Briefly, these colonies were: first, the so-called Kendall settlement in Orleans County, New York, by the sloopers of 1825; second, the Fox River settlement in LaSalle County, Illinois, founded by Kleng Peerson in 1834; third, Chicago, in 1836; fourth, Jefferson and Rock prairies, 1838; fifth, Muskego, in Waukesha and Racine counties, Wisconsin, founded by the John Luraas party in 1839. Of these the Muskego settlement was destined to become of most historic interest.

Of the Muskego settlement, Hjalmar Rued Holand says:[1]

> Out of old Muskego came many great men and many great memories. Here in this Telemarken settlement, amid rather poor and unhealthful surroundings, was laid the cornerstone of many of the larger institutions, spiritual movements, and material undertakings, which are now the pride of the Norwegian-Americans. Here the Northmen first began to take their place in American politics and American life. Here came back the answering cry of the Norwegians when called to help in the Civil War in which they so loyally and honorably defended their adopted land. Here began the educational movement whose fruit is now seen in many great educational institutions. Here was organized the first Norwegian congregation. From here went out the first call for a Norwegian minister. Here was built the first Norwegian church. Here was issued the first Norwegian newspaper.

As early as 1845 Reymert and others had begun agitating the founding of a Norwegian newspaper. Finally the necessary funds were furnished by Sören Bache and Even H. Heg, two well-to-do settlers, and in 1847 the new

[1] Hjalmar R. Holand, *De Norske Settlementers Historie* (Ephraim, Wis., 1908).

THE BIRTHPLACE OF THE NORWEGIAN PRESS OF AMERICA

Above: Two views of James D. Reymert's House and Printing-office near Denoon Lake
Below: Colonel Heg's House now standing on Site of Loghouse where first issue of *Nordlyset* was printed

venture was launched under the guidance of Reymert. A small printing office was opened in Heg's log cabin[1] and a compositor from the Chicago *Tribune*, named Erick Anderson Rude, was secured as the first typesetter. A small press and a supply of type were obtained from Philadelphia. Later Ole Heg and Even Skofstad were the compositors.

The first issue of the paper bears an announcement that it is printed by Bache, Heg, & Reymert; that the price is $2 a year, or 6 cents a copy, and that no subscription will be received for less than one year. The opening editorial announces that it is the purpose of the paper to enlighten those of the Norwegian nationality who cannot read English by giving news of general interest, and particularly news of interest chiefly to the nationality. Rules to subscribers are also set forth, with the statement that if the paper is not returned it will be assumed that it is wanted. A glowing editorial of some length also appears in praise of one Jorgen Pederson, a Norwegian of Chicago, who enlisted for the Mexican War under the name of George Pilson and who was among those to fall at Buena Vista. At the head of the column appears a cut of the American flag.

Another feature of the first issue is a Norwegian translation of a portion of the Declaration of Independence,

[1] In a letter to the author under date of July 10, 1916, H. J. Ellertson of Waterford, Wis. (in the Muskego settlement), says: "*Nordlyset*, the first Norwegian newspaper in America, was first printed in Even H. Heg's house near Wind Lake, in the town of Norway, Racine County, in 1847. Some time afterwards (I think in 1848) it was moved to the home of J. D. Reymert near Denoon Lake in the town of Muskego, Waukesha County. This house was a frame building and is still standing and forms a part of Edward Wollmer's farm residence. Mr. Heg's house, where the paper was first printed, was a log house and was torn down nearly sixty years ago and H. C. Heg, later the colonel, erected a large frame house on the same spot, which is still standing but has been remodeled."

with the names of the signers. This was a happy conception of the editor and was to prove of good omen. It pointed the hopes and ideals and sympathies of the newcomers from the Northland. The lofty principles of the Declaration--"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by the Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,"--appealed to the freedom-loving minds and sincere hearts of the immigrants from the north, and it is to the credit of their nationality that in this free land of opportunity they have lived up to and sustained these principles and ideals in their best sense.

The first number of the paper also contains a short resumé of the progress of the Mexican War, which was then being waged, a descriptive article on the territory of Minnesota, statistics of United States land sales, and quotations on grain at various ports in Europe. One of the advertisements is that of an administrator's sale of the lands of Johannes Boe of Norway, Racine County, with Sören Bache as administrator.

In a later number appears a poem in praise of the paper by one B. A. Froiseth of Milwaukee, who predicts great things for it, while a contributor shows the early disposition of the nationality to controversy by asking why Rev. J. C. Dietrichson has not reported relative to the $1,100 sent him from Norway for building churches and schools in Wisconsin.

The statement in the first issue of *Nordlyset* that it was published by Bache, Heg, & Reymert calls for a digression that may be of interest. Among the pioneers who came to Muskego in 1839 were Sören Bache and Johan Johannesen. Bache and Johannesen are to be remembered in pioneer history as the founders of that

part of the Muskego colony which became permanent, and for their enterprise in other directions. They, with others, had settled in Racine County a few miles south of the first Muskego settlement and had soon gathered a large colony about them. Bache had considerable money. His father was a rich merchant in Drammen, who took great interest in his expatriated countrymen. He sent $420 for the building of the first Norwegian church and interested Rev. C. L. Clausen to come to America. Bache and Johannesen excavated a large Indian mound on the shores of Wind Lake and started a small store which became a sort of capitol of the colony. They had started a thriving business in various lines when disaster overtook them. While out hunting one day with Rev. C. L. Clausen, Bache accidentally killed a settler's wife. This tragedy preyed heavily on his mind, and the same year his friend Johannesen died. Bache could no longer endure to remain and he returned to Norway, where he died in 1879. Before returning to Norway he offered to rear and educate the children of the man whose wife he had killed or to recompense him in other ways. The settler finally accepted forty acres of land and a cow.

Original files of the *Nordlyset* are now exceedingly scarce. Those who may be interested in seeing a facsimile of the first number will find one in the files of *Amerika* for January, 1899, in the Wisconsin Historical Library. In 1899 Prof. Rasmus B. Anderson reproduced in *Amerika* the original articles, editorials, and contributions written for *Nordlyset*, as well as the advertisements of the Norwegian business men in the United States at the time. He also presented a complete file of the original paper to the library of St. Olaf's College, Northfield, Minnesota.

While the early numbers of the paper were printed at the Heg log cabin, Rev. H. A. Stub states that when he

arrived at Muskego in 1848 he found Reymert printing his paper in a neat white frame house on the shore of Silver Lake in the town of Norway, Racine County. At this time it was the only frame house in the settlement. Reymert hoped to found a town on the shore of this pretty lake and had named it Denoon. He had built a small hotel, had started a sawmill for sawing planks for plank roads, and had attracted a blacksmith, a carpenter, and other artisans. But the town came to nought and Reymert soon left it for other fields. However, his memory remains, for Silver Lake is now known as Lake Denoon.

The career of James Denoon Reymert, the first Norwegian editor in America, was one of great romantic interest. He was born in Farsund, Norway, in 1821. His mother was a Scotch woman, Jessie Sinclair Denoon, who had married a Norwegian and removed to Norway. Two of her brothers fought on the American side during the War of the Revolution. At sixteen Reymert went to Scotland to live with relatives. After some years there he came to America in 1842. His natural gifts and his knowledge of the English language soon made him a leader at Muskego. Here he married the daughter of a dancing master, started the first newspaper, and entered upon various political and business ventures. He was a member of the second State constitutional convention in 1847, was school superintendent, justice, vice consul, presidential elector, and sat in both houses of the legislature, in the meantime building sawmills and plank roads and engaging in other ventures. Then he was appointed government land agent at Hudson, Wisconsin. He was a Democrat in politics, a friend of Stephen A. Douglas, and was a candidate for Congress in 1858. Being defeated he removed to New York in 1861 and became a prominent lawyer. In 1873 he went to Chili. In 1876 he settled in

Arizona where he founded a paper and made a small fortune in mining and was there appointed a judge by President Cleveland. Prof. Svein Nilsson states that Reymert was rather unscrupulous in his management of Bache's and of other people's property left in his care. He certainly undertook many ventures; sometimes he succeeded; sometimes not. He died at Alhambra, California, in 1896.

The distinctly northern name, *Nordlyset*, which was chosen for the pioneer newspaper of the nationality, was also destined to be the name of the first Norwegian newspaper in Minnesota to be issued wholly by Norwegians, and of one of the first of the nationality to be issued in Chicago, and another in North Dakota.

The first issue of the original *Nordlyset* bears the date of July 29, 1847. The date, July 29, is an interesting one in Norwegian history. It was on this day in the year 1030 that the forces of paganism and Christianity met at Sticklestad in the contest that was to prove decisive and in which Olaf the Saint was to fall just as the new faith was to be finally victorious in Norway. Again, July 29, 1247, Haakon Haakonson, one of the renowned early kings of Norway, was crowned at Throndhjem. It is not probable that the editor chose this date for the launching of his new venture because of its historical significance, yet the coincidence is interesting, nevertheless.

The first paper is a three-column folio, eight by eleven inches. The name is printed at the top in old German script type. Under the name is a philosophical quotation which, freely translated, reads: "After having done our duty we resort to useful reading in order that we may then take it [our duty] up with renewed energy."

The *Nordlyset* attained a subscription list of 200. A young immigrant, O. J. Carlson, undertook to deliver the

paper throughout the nearby settlements, but his only recompense the first year, as he later said, was a pair of overalls. After two years the paper was obliged to suspend. To the small extent to which it participated in the political discussions of the time, it supported the principles of the Free Soil movement, though its editor, Reymert, was later to find more congenial Democratic relationship. Before the rise of the Republican party, with its more clearly defined lines of cleavage on the slavery issue, many Norwegian immigrants were influenced by Democratic politicians to ally themselves with the older party. The determination of the more farsighted men founding the first paper to support the principles of human liberty was, however, to prove prophetic of the political course the nationality was ultimately to take.

When Heg and Reymert in 1849 decided to suspend the publication of *Nordlyset* they sold the type to Knud Langland and his son-in-law, O. J. Hatlestad. Langland was afterward to become a distinguished editor and Hatlestad, a prominent minister. Langland came to the United States in 1843 and to Muskego in 1846. In 1849, with Hatlestad, he bought the *Nordlyset* outfit and founded the *Demokraten*. In the middle fifties he was employed on Elias Stangeland's paper at Madison, *Den Norske Amerikaner;* but since he had now become an abolitionist he resigned rather than support Buchanan for president. In 1860 he was elected to the Wisconsin legislature. In 1866 he became the first editor of *Skandinaven* in Chicago.

On the ruins of *Nordlyset*, so to speak, Langland and Hatlestad started at Racine the second Norwegian paper in this country, the *Demokraten*. As his countrymen had not strongly supported the Free Soil *Nordlyset*, Langland thought it advisable to change both the name and the politics of the new paper; he therefore began the publica-

Nordlyset.

"Vi efter vor Pligt til nyttig Læsning tye, for med fornyet Kraft at øve vin paano."

No. 6. Norway, Racine County, Wisconsin.—Thorsdagen den 9de Septbr. 1847. 1ste Aargang.

Nordlyset

trykt af Wathe, Heg og Reymert;

og udsendt af J. D. Reymert

[illegible] ugentlig. Abonnementspriisen er 2 Dollars aarlig [illegible] Forskud. Ingen Subscription modtages for nogen end et halvt Aar. Enkelte Nummere erholdes for 6 cents.

Alle Breve, Indsendelser o. s. v. addresseres til "Nordlyset Norway Post-Office Racine County Wisconsin" og Post Portoen derpaa maa være betalt.

Ved at henvende sig til nærmeste Post Contoir og der fordre gjennem Post Mesterne, Nordlyset sendt til deres Adresse vil Enhver kunde erholde Bladet uden at tilskrive os gjennem Posten og betale Porto.

Annoncer og [illegible] for Bekjendtgjørelser betales for 1i [illegible] med 1 cents for Linie, 3 cents for Korpus og for [illegible] være for Kjøre Bogstaver. Aarlige og gjen-

Blandede Efterretninger.

"Buffalo Telegraph," Vander mange fængslende Bemærkninger, dette Blad angaaende, ere vi i Sandelighed overraskede ved at finde "Buffalo Telegraph" i Tallet de bedste tydske Aviser i America, hvorfra vi love os den behagelige Bekjendtgjørelse ofte at meddele vore Læsere megen interessant Materie i indeholdende en Artikel i vort Modersmaal angaaende "Nordlyset," Smigrende, som denne rigtnok er til Redactionen, saa høste vi deg vor forneme Glæde deraf at vore tydske Brødre sympathisere og deeltage med os i vort Foretagende, samt opmuntre paa en kraftig Maade til "Fremadskriden."

Hvormeget har Mr. Skandinavien, hvis Aands-Kraft og Genie, at takke for dets Udvikling i Kunster, Videnskaber og Production!

—Det er anslaaet, med god Grund, at der vil blive et Overskud af Een Million Bushels Hvede for Udførsel fra Wisconsin i dette Aar.

En nye Opfindelse.

En Machine til at saae med er den sidste Opfindelse, som vi have bemærket og den er tilfalds for Settlerne her i Westen. Den er meget simpel og kan letteligen beskrives. Forestil Dig en Hjulebøre med en let Kasse værs over den 10 eller 12 Fod lang. Fremsiden paa Kassen er gjennemboret saaledes at Hullerne staae fra 4 til 6 Tommer fra hverandre. Paa en Axel indeni Kassen ere runde Børster anbragte ligeoverfor Hullerne. Denne Axel er ved et Belte forbunden med Hjulet paa Børren.

dede Tusinder, andre slyngede til [illegible] Gjestevenner for at da [illegible] Mængde ller alle Nationer [illegible] gende Dødsfrdsel med sig. Man anslaar [illegible] taler paa dem, der ere døde i 5 Dage [illegible] hvoraf den største Deel ubegravn. [illegible] Omegnen af heftige Stads. Heldigvis [illegible] igaar og Forgaars en stærk Regn, og man haaber, at Sygdommens Magt derved er knækket Rimeligviis ville Tyrkerne stoppe Karevanen fra Damascus og Egypterne den Suez paa Grendseit, og man kan sikkert regne paa en no fryztelig Dødelighed blandt denne udmattede og smittede Masse. Man er her for Tiden i en besynderlig Forlegenhed; en stor Deel af de rigere Beboeres Tiende i Dschedda har gjort Pilegremsfarten med, da ingen Arabier lader Leiligheden gaa bort til saa øste som muligt at

AN EARLY ISSUE OF *NORDLYSET*

tion of a Democratic paper, though strangely enough he was soon to become a powerful champion with his pen of the coming Republican party.[1]

Soon afterwards, in the summer of 1850, the third Norwegian paper in this country, *Den Norske's Ven* (The Norwegian's Friend) appeared at Madison under the direction of Ole Torgerson. This paper supported the principles of the Whig party. In the meantime Langland had moved his printing outfit to Janesville and issued his paper there. As rival partisans, these two puny publications engaged in a mild political warfare. However, at the opening of 1851 both had suspended publication.

What may be called two church papers next appeared in the field. Langland and Hatlestad had divided the type of the *Demokraten* office and Hatlestad had taken his part to Racine, while Langland's outfit had been moved to Inmansville, Rock County, where in March, 1851, Rev. A. C. Preus, Rev. C. L. Clausen, and Rev. H. A. Stub issued *Maanedstidende for den Norsk-Evangelisk-Lutherske Kirke i Amerika*, while soon afterward from Racine, Hatlestad began the publication of *Den Norske Lutherske Kirketidende.*

The year 1851 was a notable one in the history of the Norwegian press in America. At the opening of that year there was no Norwegian paper in this country, but before its close five publications in the language were under way. Between 1850 and 1860 eight Norwegian papers—most of them short-lived—were started, exclusive of the *Demokraten*, which was established at Racine in 1849 and was being published in 1850. Briefly these eight were:

[1] "To Langland more than to any other Norwegian should be given the credit for attaching his countrymen to the Republican party, as well as to our common school system, for it was in the advocacy of these two things that his newspaper work was particularly noteworthy." Nissen P. Stenjem in *Madison, Past and Present* (Madison, 1902).

Den Norske's Ven, a Whig paper established in Madison by Ole Torgerson in 1850; *Maanedstidende for den Norske-Evangelisk-Lutherske Kirke i Amerika*, founded near Inmansville, Rock County, by H. A. Preus, C. L. Clausen, and H. A. Stub; *Den Norske Lutherske Kirketidende*, founded at Racine in 1851 by Rev. O. J. Hatlestad; *Skandinaven*, founded in New York in 1851; *Frihed's Banneret*, established in Chicago in 1851; *Emigranten*, founded in 1852 by the Scandinavian Democratic Press Association, near Inmansville, Wisconsin; *Den Norske Amerikaner* established at Madison in 1854 by Elias Stangeland; and *Wossingen*, established at Leland, Illinois, in 1857 by Nils Bakkethun. The last named was a single-sheet publication; all of the others began as four-column folios.[1]

It will be noticed that all but two of these pioneer papers were started in Wisconsin. This State was then the home of the greater part of the nationality in this country, and the settlements at Muskego and Koshkonong, later to become such sentimental names, were the Norwegian capitals, so to speak. Of the 12,678 Norwegians in the United States as shown by the census of 1850, 8,651, or over two-thirds, were residents of Wisconsin.

[1] Rev. C. M. Esbjorn of New Haven, Conn., recently came into possession of a copy of the *Skandinaven*, which was issued in New York, 1851–53. The copy bears date of June 19, 1852, and is supposed to be the only surviving copy of this paper. On the first page appears a poem by Dr. J. C. Dundas of Cambridge, Wis., who wrote voluminously in verse under the pen name of Dr. Dass. It is entitled "Demokratisk Uafhengighed" (Independent Democracy). According to Swedish claims the first editor of *Skandinaven* was a Swede, Anders Gustaf Obom, and the paper was printed for both Norwegians and Swedes. Obom was very bitter towards Swedish royalty, hence the scandalous tales about, and attacks made by him upon, Swedish officials. Obom's wife, it is said, was Swiss by birth and although she had many children for whom to care she worked at the case with him from morning till night. They lived in a very small house, one room of which was used as a printing office. The paper—at least in its late issues—was a four-page, four-column sheet 11 by 17½ inches to the page.

How the first party of immigrants was diverted to Wisconsin is told by Prof. Svein Nilsson in the first issue of the *Billed-Magazin* in 1868. This was the Luraas party which founded the Muskego settlement in Waukesha County in 1839. In an interview with Nilsson later one of the immigrants said:

The day after we arrived in the harbor of Milwaukee we began to make preparations for continuing our journey when several men from the city came on board the vessel. They asked in what work we contemplated engaging in America. We said we were country people, that we desired to obtain land for cultivation, and that we thought of going to Illinois. "Go where you please," said one of the visitors, "this is a free country, but if you would hear something to your own advantage, listen to my advice." He thereupon presented two persons, one of whom was a large, portly man of fine presence, and the other a rack of bones, with every symptom of illness and failing. "See," said our self-appointed leader, "the fat man is from Wisconsin where there is good climate and food in abundance. The ill one is from Illinois where the people are fairly consumed by the burning heat of the sun and where they die like flies from swamp fever. Now decide as you think best."

It was a warm summer day and the sun's rays added weight to the man's argument. We perspired copiously under our heavy homemade shirts and contemplated with terror the heat of Illinois, which would soon transform us into skeletons like the miserable figure standing beside the strong and healthy Wisconsin man. So we held a council and it was unanimously decided that we should build and reside in Wisconsin.

The immigrants therefore came ashore in Milwaukee. This city which now (1868) has a population of about 70,000 was then in its infancy. There were but few stores and shops, and here and there small houses were scattered about, apparently without order or any sign that its people expected to found a city with regular streets. Interesting enough, too, was the fact that the man who had been presented to us on shipboard as representing Wisconsin was the later well-known George H. Walker after whom Walker's Point in Milwaukee was named.

Some further account of the papers mentioned may be of interest. An early-day critic, probably some young collegian from Christiania, said they were wretchedly edited from the point of view of good diction, and declared

he found ninety-four errors in Norwegian in three columns of the Racine *Kirketidende*. According to this same critic, the first *Skandinaven*, which was founded in New York by three self-styled "Scandinavian Republicans," was scandalous and flippant, of the most advanced Parisian tone, and particularly given to scandalous tales from Sweden. The *Frihed's Banneret* (Banner of Freedom) which ran for a year in Chicago, was not so aggressive, he said, as its name would indicate, while its youthful editor was exceedingly arrogant in tone.

The most important and ably edited of all the early papers of the nationality was the *Emigranten*, founded in Rock County in 1852. It was later removed to Madison, then to La Crosse, and may be said still to survive in the Minneapolis *Tidende*.

As has been stated, when the *Demokraten* was suspended, the type and equipment were divided, one-half being taken to Racine and the other to Inmansville, at each of which places a church organ was founded. However, the want of a newspaper was felt and in 1851 Rev. C. L. Clausen urged in various ways that support be given towards founding another. Accordingly a meeting was held at the Rock Prairie Lutheran church on November 15, 1851, and an organization formed under the name, "Scandinavian Printing Association." At this meeting, it is said, seventy-three shares were subscribed at $10 each and the movement for starting a paper was gotten under way. Strangely enough two Scandinavian press associations were formed at this early period.

On January 12, 1852 the first number of *Emigranten* was issued, with Rev. C. L. Clausen as editor. A number of books were also published by the associations, such as Lindrots' *Huspostil*, the *Forklaring*, the *Catechism*, and readers and historical books. L. S. Heyerdahl, later a

prominent farmer, was for seven years a compositor on *Emigranten*.

On August 1, 1852 articles of incorporation of the association were filed with the secretary of state. The capital stock was $2,000, consisting of 200 shares of $10 each. The incorporators were G. F. Dietrichson, A. C. Preus, H. A. Preus, Iver Ingebretson, and J. D. Reymert. It was set forth that the purpose of the organization was "the printing and publication of literary products" and that its operations should be conducted in the town of Plymouth, Rock County. Clausen was soon succeeded as editor by K. J. Fleischer.

In the meantime the Janesville printing plant had been moved to Gunder Springen's double log cabin on Rock Prairie, in section four, town of Newark, Rock County. While the histories and files of the publication generally state that it was issued in Inmansville, as a matter of fact what is known as Inmansville was a post office at a farmer's house in the town of Plymouth, more than a mile north of the Springen cabin. A year or two afterwards a stone building was erected half a mile north of the old Luther Valley church, about a mile from the Springen place and here the *Emigranten* was permanently located. The stone building, remodeled into a house, still stands. In addition to the stone printing office, were a frame house occupied by Editor Fleischer and family and the Dietrichson parsonage, in which the present Bishop Dietrichson of Norway was born. C. F. Solberg lived with the Fleischer family for a while.

In June, 1854 the printing office was wrecked by a cyclone, the roof being blown off. In October, 1854 the paper was revived, but now it showed a leaning toward the principles of the Whig party, whereas before it had supported the Democratic party. It was charged at the

time that the change in policy was brought about by certain Whig politicians who offered to contribute to restore the roof of the plant if the paper were made a Whig organ. As the Norwegians soon deserted the Democratic party en masse it became a byword of the settlements that the cyclone of 1854 blew the Democracy out of the Norwegians.

In May, 1857 the paper was removed to Madison, with C. F. Solberg as editor. In 1868 it was removed to La Crosse and consolidated with *Faedrelandet.*

Files of *Emigranten,* published in Madison at the opening of the Civil War, show, among other things, pictures of Scandinavian hotels. Bjornson's novel, *En Glad Gut,* was being run in installments. After war was declared the American flag appeared at the head of the editorial column. Among the advertisements are those of Hans Borchsenius as notary public and Huntley & Steensland, grocers. La Crosse, Janesville, Beloit, and Racine advertisements also were run. In one issue appeared a long article on the organization of the Fifteenth Wisconsin Regiment.

This Norwegian regiment, it may be noted, which played such a heroic role at Chickamauga, claimed a large number of these pioneer editors of the nationality, among whom may be mentioned Borchsenius, Solberg, C. M. Reese, and C. L. Clausen. Among them also may not improperly be included Col. Hans C. Heg, who fell at Chickamauga and who as a boy had worked in the old *Nordlyset* office.

C. F. Solberg is now the sole survivor of the pioneer editors of the nationality. For many years he has made his home in Milwaukee and is still vigorous in mind and memory.

In 1857 a small publication called *Wossingen* was launched at Leland, La Salle County, Illinois. It began as

a single-sheet two-page publication, eight by eleven inches, but the names or identity of the publishers are not revealed in the paper. Nils Bakkethun, a typesetter from Voss, Norway, was the editor. The paper ran about two years.[1]

Leland was in the Fox River settlement, founded by Kleng Peerson in 1834, and contained a large number of immigrants from Voss. They had begun coming as early as 1836 and in 1843 a considerable number had arrived. The little paper was issued monthly, the subscription price being 25 cents a year or five copies for $1 if all were sent under one address.

From a historical point of view the now rare files of this paper are chiefly interesting because of the fact that it was used as a means of communication between the expatriated Vossings and their countrymen in the Old World. Thus, for instance, the issue of June, 1858 contains over a dozen letters, about an equal number being contributed from each side of the water. The letters from the homeland were usually written by the parish minister for the members of his flock to their relatives in this country.

In the primitive means of a new country and an early day, with immigrants shifting more or less, intercourse between the Old World and the New World had many

[1] Under date of Aug. 24, 1916, Knud Henderson of Cambridge, Wis., writes: "The editor and publisher of the newspaper *Wossingen*, printed at Leland, La Salle county, Illinois, was Nils Bakkethun. His trade was typesetting, which he followed until he died. The first number of the paper was published in December, 1857, and was a small single sheet. I have the first ten numbers. In 1859 it came out in larger form. In the spring of 1868 I met Mr. Bakkethun at Madison where he was then setting type for Mr. Solberg in the office of the *Emigranten*. We agreed to go to Norway together that spring; but when I was ready to go he did not show up, so I made the trip alone. He went to Norway the next year and started to publish a paper at Voss. After a number of years he sold the whole equipment to the organist and school teacher, O. Kinden, at Vossevangen. Mr. Bakkethun returned to America and located in Chicago."

elements of delay and uncertainty. Hence it was natural that such a paper should be used as a medium of communication. Translations of two typical letters follow:

To Ole Nielsen Mithun and Guri Nielsdatter Mithun:

A year has already rolled by since our mother, Ranvei Mithun, passed away in death. Soon after the settlement and auction I sent a letter to Ole Peterson Naesthuus in Chicago in which I asked him to inform you of her passing and that she had left you a small inheritance of 90 specie dollars. But the letter must have miscarried since up to the present I have received no reply from you. Please inform me through the paper *Wossingen* in what form you wish me to send this inheritance, if you think it would do to leave the money with the emigration committee here under an arrangement by which you can get the same amount from the head committee in Chicago. Awaiting a reply—and with hearty greetings to you and your family, also that we are all well, Mithun the 11th day of April, 1858.

Your brother Ole Nielsen Mithun.

To Miss Brytteva Brynelsdatter Lunde:

Your parents greet you with much love and thank much you for your fine message this winter. Your brothers and sisters do not contemplate coming to America this spring, but have postponed the journey until next spring. All are in good health and have recently moved to the gaard Gjelle. Accept also a warm greeting from my wife and daughters Ingeborg and Magli.

Saule, the 13th May, 1858. C. Mossefin

In a way this paper may be said to have been a forerunner of the present-day organs of the so-called "bygdelags." In fact, an organization had already been formed among the Vossings in this country, though not with the same objects in view as the present district bodies. The object of the first organization was to assist poorer people from Voss to come to America. The early files of the paper contain an appeal of a column's length to the Vossings in America to come to the aid of their countrymen, many of whom, it was stated, had thus already been helped to come to the land of the free. Stephen Lawson of Chicago

WOSSINGEN.

Udgivet af nogle Vossere.

Motto: — „Enighed gjør Styrke."

No. 1. Leland, La Salle Co., Illinois, Juni, 1858. **1ste Aarg.**

Abonnements-Betingelser.

Bladet „Vossingen" udkommer een Gang om Maaneden for den billige Subskriptionspris af 25 Cent Aargangen. — Annoncer der ordineres i Nummere til et Hundrede og under en Adresse, erholde det lige til

Alle Breve, Indsendelser, osv., adresseres: „Redaktionen for Vossingen, Leland, La Salle Co., Illinois."

(Indsendt.)

Mel.: „Ho Norge. Dig vert Faderland," eller: „For Norge, Kjempers Fødeland."

Hil Vos! Du Moderbo saa skjøn,
Du Arvede gamle Bolig;
Paa Bjerg og Dal og Lunde grøn
Ei mig Du, altid rolig;
Bel er vi der i fjernmest Land,
Men Dig vi aldrig glemme kan,
Du er vor Moder tro og dualt,
Vor Barndoms Hjem og Bolig.

Ei nogen „Vos" vi end har hjemt,
Som Friheden ei kattet',
Som ei med Billighed sig vendt,
At give Hjælp, hvor fattet', —
Som ei er flyed' sin Moder troe,
Hvor Brødre, Søstre, Venner boe, —
Som ei er stolt af Navnet „Vos"
Og ert til vilde bytte.

Kom Vossinger da og giv en Haand
Os Sønner her at gjøre;
Hjælp os i Dag, en anden Gang
Vi Jer til Ret vil føre;
Det er Jers regt Gavn og God
Hvorhen vi baade Jer saa god
Os broderligen at staae bie
Og gjøre Alt I kunne.

Et lidet Blad er her begyndt
Til Vossers Gammen, Nytte,
Kom, Vosser! gjør det Kraft og Stand,
Saa det god Rødder fatte.
Kom først og fremst og lad os see,
Hvordan hos Eder det „stander"
Send os alt Nyt, I vide om,
Og vi vil gjøre det samme.

Kom En og Alle, hver og en,
Og lad dit Navn kun tegne
Som Subskribent paa „Vossingen"
En ¼ Quarter" det vil regne

Det gjør et noget om den er „spansk"
Saalænge ikke den er „katholsk".
Vi vil Dig sende et Nummer strax
Af Vossingen berømte.

Lars i Krokjær.

☞ Ovenstaaende Linier, som ere os godhertsfuldt overladte til Offentliggjørelse, vare pennede af en Vos et Par Dage siden, idet rende i en Omnibus, som blev stikkende fast i et Mudhul i en af Chicagos mærkværdige Gader, hvilke denne Sommer have paa Grund af den forskiftede Gues Velsignelse af Regn, vi vide til have nydt, — været i en Forfatning, som ikke er misundelsesværdig.

L. A.

☞ Mange Tak. Hr. E Nabobud! De er vorre saa kaut. Kunde De ikke blive Redacteur for „Vossingen?"

E. T. —— Hoitelskede Slægtninge!
{ David Olsen Opheim og
{ Knud Isdalsen Ygre! ——

Efterdi det havde været og er Alles hvorvarend Plan i sin Visdom, at forelede alle Mennesker til alle Verdens Ender, og som ogsaa er blevet vor Lod, som Mennesker, engang efter vore gjenstridige Lyster i Modersskjødet, at være dertjernede saa længe fra hverandre, efter saa mærkelig lang Maalestok: saa vorde vi, saalænge vi befindes her i denne Bortfjernelse, intet andet Middel at benytte, end ved Pennen at søge at lindre den Attraae, der saa ofte rører sig i vor Barm i at baade gide at høre fra Eder, som ogsaa at meddele Eder om vor Tilstand, baade for den nærværende og fordigangne Tid, hvilket jeg formoder de ønsker at høre. Hvad Sundhed og Helbred angaaer, da haver jeg og mine Børn, med saa Undtagelser, været ganske friske, hvorimod min Kone dog ofte har været hjemsøgt af Sygdomme. — Endvidere: i andre Henseender, saa befinde vi os vel, og seer vor daglige Udkomme uden Sorg. Vor Søn Ole har staaet i Arbeide paa et Bogtrykkeri i Chicago i lidt over to Aar, og har for Maaneden 20 Dollar; tilligemed han under hele Tiden befundet sig godt og vel, baade med Hensyn til Helsen, som ogsaa i andre Omstendigheder. Han opholder sig hos John Amundsen Hefte i Chicago. Jeg ønsker inderlig gjerne, saasnart muligt, at høre, hvorledes I befinder Eder ogsaa i Eders gamle Hjem, samt høre, hvad I synes om vort Blad. —— Herved saaer vi sluttet vor Skrivelse med en hjertelig, som sidstlig Hilsen til Eder alle vore Slægtninge og Venner, med det inderligste Ønske, at Sundhed og Fred med Gud i en god Samvittighed maatte blive os Alle til Deel baade for Tid og Evighed. Dette Ske af Naadens Jesu Christo. —— Lev vel!

Naar I skrive, da er min Adresse:
C. Christoffersen Opheim, Leland,
La Salle Co., Illinois, — U. S.

Døde. — Paa Vos: John Olsen Appelthun og Kone, begge døde i en Alder af blevne [illegible] for Roskue, Stuffen Hellene, gamle Anne Thon, Niels Graue og Ole Johannesen Graue. — Senere: Lars Eriksen Østhus, der, ved at falde igjennem Isen i Lundersandet, druknede; Vilkaarmand Johannes Melkerteigen, Bjørne Nerlsen hænste sig selv, Gudskalf Kindem er nylig død, efter flere Ugers Sygdom.

Gifte. — Paa Vos: Lars Andersen Mosfenn med Pigen Sidsrue Nielsdatter Tvestadl, Enkemand Herman Dugstad med Pigen Martha Larsdatter Østhuus, og Ole Nielsen Lunde med Pigen Sigri Storkdatter Fjose. — Senere: Ungkarl Lars Larsen Boe i Tydkebogden med Ranvei Nielsdr. Lunde, og Erik Wilumsen Trøn med Pigen Stenvor Nielsdr. Skjelbe.

I Decorah, Iowa: Paul Helnesen Graue med Pigen Anne Olsdatter Ygre. Chicago, Ill.: Enken Kirsti Torstensdatter Høyte med John P. Berg fra Stavanger.

☞ **Efterspørgsel.** — Om Nogen skulde kjende til hvor Claus Knudsen Mosfenn fra Vos opholder sig, ville de forbinde sig meget ved at opgive mig det under følgende Adr.: Knud T. Lunde, Leland, La Salle Co. Ill.

☞ Naar vore Landsmænd paa Vos skrive til os, da forlanger altid hvilket No Østeb har taget

AN EARLY ISSUE OF *WOSSINGEN*

was apparently the leading spirit in this movement. The appeal set forth that there was no element of speculation in the enterprise, but that its purpose was solely "to help our needy countrymen in Voss to come to this richly-dowered land where the industrious and worthy may in time come into independent situations and become useful citizens of the community." It stated, moreover, that the Vossings of Jefferson Prairie had contributed $106 to the fund.

The first Norwegian publication in the nature of a magazine was the *Billed-Magazin*, a monthly publication issued in Madison during the years 1868–69 by B. W. Suckow. The chief value and interest of this publication, from a historical point of view, consists in the fact that it contained a series of articles on the early Norwegian settlements in America, written by Prof. Svein Nilsson, a graduate of the University of Christiania, afterward a distinguished editor of the *Skandinaven* of Chicago. The data for these articles were chiefly gathered by Professor Nilsson on long and arduous tramps through the settlements and in personal interviews with the pioneers. These articles, to the extent of the field they cover, have been invaluable to later historians of the Norwegian settlements. As with a number of other publications in this country, many copies of this magazine were sent to Norway where they attracted much interest among prospective emigrants.

Petty jealousies and rivalries were among the directing influences in the starting of the various early Norwegian papers in Wisconsin and in their subsequent fortunes and vicissitudes. When the *Emigranten* was founded in 1852 it was announced that Rev. C. L. Clausen would act as editor. As a matter of fact, however, the editorial work was done chiefly by C. M. Reese (Riis), a young immi-

grant from Copenhagen. In September, 1852 Reese announced his election as editor, and declared that while he himself was a Free Soiler the paper would continue Democratic. Accordingly the paper strongly advocated the election of Franklin Pierce as president and pointed the possible dangers that might follow were the Whig, General Scott, elected. The paper, by the way, also urged the election of Norwegians to the legislature, and made the astonishing statement that there were then from 35,000 to 50,000 of the nationality in the State. This was of course, a great exaggeration. Reese continued as editor for a year and a half, in the meantime making war on the rival publications, *Kirketidende* and *Friheds Banneret.*

An attempt by Reese to obtain control of the paper--which failed because of his lack of money--led to his resignation in 1854 and the election of K. J. Fleischer as editor. In partnership with Elias Stangeland, Reese then began the publication at Madison of *Den Norske Amerikaner* (The Norwegian-American). The new paper then made war on *Emigranten* as a church organ and destroyer of reputations, the *Emigranten* having taken occasion to publish many columns on an alleged immigration scandal with which Stangeland had been connected. Stangeland had acted as editor of the new paper, but on December 27, 1856, gave way to Reese as editor. However, in April, 1857, the former returned to the editorial post. His attacks on the ministers had hurt the paper, and he sought in various ways to make amends. However, the paper was soon obliged to suspend. In the final issue it was announced that the Scandinavian Democratic Press Association had taken over the paper which would now be issued as a national Democratic sheet under the name *Nordstjernen* (North Star). Stangeland sold his outfit to

the association for $1,700. The *Nordstjernen* first appeared June 10, 1857. Gabriel Bjornson was elected president of the press association and Reese, secretary, while among the directors was J. D. Reymert, who now appeared as a Democrat and attacked *Emigranten.*

Reese was made editor of the *Nordstjernen*, but an early report says that he was not industrious and that the paper contained little except carpings against its rival. The paper proving unprofitable, the press association in 1858 leased its outfit to Hans Borchsenius, who continued the publication for a short time. In 1860 Borchsenius became county clerk of Dane County, and thereupon sold the *Nordstjernen* to C. F. Solberg, editor of *Emigranten.*

In the meantime the ministers who had been connected with *Emigranten* had broken with Fleischer and withdrawn their support from the paper, which was, in April, 1857 removed to Madison, and made a strong Republican and antislavery organ under the editorship of C. F. Solberg. Then, as stated, Solberg bought the *Nordstjernen* and consolidated it with the *Emigranten.*

Strangely enough, while the first Norwegian paper, *Nordlyset*, was a Free Soil organ, its editor and most of the leaders and editors of the nationality in the fifties were Democrats. With the formation of the Republican party, however, the nationality abandoned these leaders and went over en masse to the new party of freedom. Some of the leaders, however, like Reymert, Gabriel Bjornson, and Jacob Seeman continued true to Democracy in the main though it proved an unprofitable devotion. The opposing papers at the time gave and took heavy blows. Solberg carried as a motto in his paper, *Emigranten*, "No Slavery for Black or White," while the Democratic *Nordstjernen* declared it would "tear the mask from black republicanism."

The opening of the Civil War found the *Emigranten* in sole possession of the Norwegian field and a large, influential, and ably edited paper. In 1868 it was consolidated with the *Faedrelandet* of La Crosse under the name of *Faedrelandet og Emigranten* and the paper left the Madison field.

The *Faedrelandet* was established at La Crosse in January, 1864 by F. Fleischer, a relative of K. J. Fleischer. In 1885 this paper was removed to Minneapolis, although a branch office was maintained at La Crosse until 1888. In 1895 it was absorbed by the Minneapolis *Tidende*. On its absorption it claimed to be the oldest Scandinavian paper in the United States.

At present three Norwegian papers in this country stand out as giants, far overtopping all others from the standpoint of circulation and influence. While none of them was among the first papers of the nationality in this country, all may be regarded as pioneers and be briefly noticed. These papers are *Decorah Posten* of Decorah, Iowa, with a semiweekly circulation of 42,000; *Skandinaven* of Chicago, with a semiweekly circulation of 36,000; and the *Tidende* of Minneapolis, with a circulation of 33,000. The other Norwegian papers of the country, exclusive of church papers, have a combined circulation of about 36,000.

Decorah Posten was founded by B. Anundsen in 1874. Until 1897 it was issued weekly. In 1866, Anundsen, then a printer at La Crosse, began issuing a small miscellaneous periodical called *Ved Arnen*. In 1868 he moved to Decorah to become printer and bookbinder for the Lutheran Synod. He continued at intervals to publish *Ved Arnen*, and in time it became a supplement to *Decorah Posten*, and through its continued stories became the chief factor in building up the large circulation of the latter.

Skandinaven was founded by John Anderson in 1866, on the ruins of *Nordlyset*, a paper published by Marcus Thrane, the celebrated Norwegian labor leader, who died at Eau Claire, Wisconsin, in 1890. Its list of distinguished editors includes the names of Knud Langland, Svein Nilsson, Peter Hendrickson, Nicolai Grevstad, and John Benson.

Minneapolis *Tidende* was established by Thorvald Gulbrandson in 1887, but in a sense it may be considered a continuation of other papers previously founded, among them *Emigranten*, founded in 1851, later called *Faedrelandet og Emigranten*. Another paper absorbed by the *Tidende* was *Budstikken*, founded in Minneapolis in 1880. Among its early editors may be named R. S. N. Sartz and Carl Hansen.

The first Norwegian paper in Minnesota was issued as a sort of supplement by the Rochester Post Company, at Rochester, in 1868. It was named *Nordiske Folkeblad*, and F. S. Christenson acted as editor. It continued for half a dozen years.

The next paper in the state of Minnesota and the first to stand independently on its own feet was the *Nordlyset*, founded at Northfield in 1870, with Harold Thorson as publisher and Ave Westgard as editor.

Minnesota appeared in Minneapolis in 1872, under the management of C. F. Solberg, former editor of *Emigranten*, and Hjalmar Eger. In 1873 the publication of *Budstikken* was begun in Minneapolis under the editorship of Paul Hjelm, who in 1869 had written a series of articles on the Red River Valley which led to a considerable emigration to that region. The paper was later incorporated in the Minneapolis *Tidende*.

The first Norwegian paper in what is now North Dakota was founded at Fargo in 1878 by M. Wesenberg,

under the name of the *Red River Posten*. The following year Wesenberg established the *Nordlyset* at Grand Forks. In 1884 the Devil's Lake *Tidende* was founded and in 1887 appeared *Normannen* of Fargo, now the most important Norwegian paper in the state.[1] L. K. Hassel was the first editor. L. Stavnheim and O. E. Hagen were the first editors of the now important paper, *Fram*.

The pioneer paper in modern South Dakota was the *Folketidende*, established in Sioux Falls in 1879 by Gabriel B. Ravndahl. *Vesterheimen* appeared at Flandreau in the early eighties and the *Syd Dakota Ekko* at Sioux Falls in 1890.

The influence of the Norwegian press, particularly as an agency for the diffusion of intelligence regarding world history and politics among the nationality, has of course been great. To what degree it has molded public sentiment and political opinion is more difficult to estimate. It has been found on all sides of all questions, and has been strongly given to controversy. While often impractical, it has not always been above being subsidized. It has been particularly inclined toward religious and theological disputation, to a much greater degree proportionately than the press of Norway. The split in the American Lutheran church in the early eighties furnished a mine for controversy which after nearly forty years of exploitation still seems inexhaustible.

In fact, most of the early papers of the nationality were largely organs of one church faction or another and apparently were more concerned with religious matters and controversies than with world news in general. This might naturally be expected. To begin with, the language and institutions of the New World were in the main sealed

[1] An unusual enterprise by this paper recently has been the sending of the well-known journalist, Peer O. Stromme, on two trips around the world.

books to the Norwegian immigrants. Then, too, a religious revival had recently swept over Norway and the new settlers were strongly influenced by its effects. But the most powerful influence of all in this connection, probably, was the fact that the leading men of the settlements were the ministers, and the newspapers were largely dependent upon them for their subscription lists. It was not until a later date that more independent newspapers arose.

In common with the press of other nationalities the Norwegian press of the great Northwest boasts the names of many men of great native gifts and high culture who are appreciated only within the narrow circles of the nationality. In spite of the dictum of a wise observer that one cannot stand with a man of culture under an archway during a shower without finding him out, the fact remains that lacking facility in the use of English many men of rare minds have been obliged to turn their hands, temporarily at least, to the most menial occupations. Likewise many such have been and are today confined to obscure positions on small papers and drawing meager salaries.

Occasionally a marked exception is found, however, as in the case of Nicolai A. Grevstad, long the distinguished editor of *Skandinaven* of Chicago and later United States minister to Uruguay and Paraguay. Although not coming to this country until past thirty years of age he showed such remarkable aptitude in acquiring the use of English that within a year after taking a position with the Minneapolis *Tribune* he became the leading editorial writer of that paper.

As Wisconsin was the cradle of the Norwegian press in America so also no city in America has more interesting and honorable associations with this press than has its capital, Madison. Most of the early pioneers in Nor-

wegian journalism and many of its brilliant later lights at one time or another lived and labored or studied there. Passing in review we find among others these distinguished names: Reymert, the first editor, a member of the second constitutional convention and later in both houses of the legislature; Ole Torgerson, one of the first Norwegian compositors and founder of the second newspaper; C. F. Solberg, now the last of the pioneer editors; Hans Borchsenius, editor, soldier, legislator; B. W. Suckow, secretary of the Ole Bull colony and publisher of one of the first city directories of Madison and other books; Knud Langland, the distinguished early editor of *Skandinaven;* Rev. C. L. Clausen; Gabriel Bjornson, county official and prominent in public life; the scholarly Elias Stangeland; Charles M. Reese, editor, soldier, politician; K. J. Fleischer; Svein Nilsson, long editor of the Chicago *Skandinaven;* Jon Olafsson, cultured Icelander; Jacob Seeman, student chum of the poet Bjornson and long active in the life of Madison; Hans Spilde; Jacob R. Ellertson; J. B. Wist, the present able editor of the *Decorah Posten;* and among more recent names, P. O. Stromme, R. B. Anderson, A. O. Buslett, Hanna A. Larsen, and H. N. Hasund. Other communities can boast their later and similar rolls of honor and distinction. May the memories of these variously gifted and achieving worthies long remain green for the sweetness and light they have diffused among their kin of lineage here and the stores of the Old World culture they have so generously brought to our American doors.

The Dream of a Northwestern Confederacy

By William C. Cochran

On the fourth day of February, 1861, "Deputies of the Sovereign and Independent States of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana," as they styled themselves, met in the state capitol at Montgomery, Alabama, and proceeded to organize a "Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America." The work was all cut and dried, and in four days a complete Constitution was adopted, and on the fifth day Jefferson Davis of Mississippi was elected president, and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, vice-president, of the Confederate States of America. There was little travail about the birth of this nation. Its legitimacy was questioned by none present, and it was more than two months before the doubts of the northern portion of the United States found expression in official action. The leaders rejoiced in the fact that there was little debate and no serious opposition to any measure proposed. It is true that the work of constitution making was much facilitated by their having before them the Constitution of the United States, which needed amendment in only a few particulars fully to satisfy the assembled "Deputies."

It is not necessary to describe these amendments particularly, for, on March 11, 1861 a permanent Constitution for the Confederate States of America was adopted

at Montgomery, which superseded the provisional constitution. This followed the Constitution of the United States so closely that the amendments, like colored patches on a plain garment, were very prominent and disclosed to all the world the real causes for the attempted separation of the slave-holding states from their sister states in the Union.

The preamble recites that:

"We, the people of the *Confederate* States, *each State acting in its sovereign and independent character* * * * do ordain and establish this Constitution * * *."

Article I, Section 8, provides:

"* * * *no bounties shall be granted from the Treasury; nor shall any duties or taxes on importations from foreign nations be laid to promote or foster any branch of industry* * * *."

Article I, Section 9, provides that:

"The importation of *negroes of the African race, from any foreign country other than the slaveholding States or Territories of the United States of America, is hereby forbidden* * * *.

"*Congress shall also have power to prohibit the introduction of slaves from any State not a member of, or Territory not belonging to, this Confederacy.* * * *"

"No bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, *or law denying or impairing the right of property in negro slaves shall be passed.*"

Article I, Section 10, provides:

"No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty *on* tonnage, *except on sea-going vessels for the improvement of its rivers and harbors navigated by the said vessels* * * *." *But when any river divides or flows through two or more States, they may enter into compacts with each other to improve the navigation thereof.*"

Article IV, Section 2, provides:

"The citizens of each State * * * *shall have the right of transit and sojourn in any State of this Confederacy, with their slaves and other property; and the right of property in said slaves shall not be thereby impaired.*"

Article IV, Section 3, provides:

"*The Confederate States may acquire new territory * * *. In all such territory, the institution of negro slavery, as it now exists in the Confederate States, shall be recognized and protected by Congress, and by the territorial government; and the inhabitants of the several Confederate States and Territories shall have the right to take to such Territory any slaves lawfully held by them in any of the States or Territories of the Confederate States.*"

In brief, the new Constitution differed from the old, chiefly, in two particulars:

1. No manufacturing industry was to be promoted, or sustained, by subsidies or a protective tariff.

2. The institution of negro slavery was to be maintained, unimpaired, throughout all the states and territories of the Confederacy, and extended to any new territory which Congress might acquire.[1]

Before their "deputies" were appointed, the several states named had passed ordinances of secession, by which, so far as they had power to do so, they had severed their relations with the United States of America.[2] The govern-

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[1] *Statutes at Large of the Confederate States of America* (Richmond, Va., 1864). The Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the Confederate States of America are printed in parallel columns in Jefferson Davis, *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* (New York, 1881), I, app. K, 648–73, and the words found in one and not in the other are italicized so that they can be readily distinguished. The italics in the passages quoted above are Davis'.

[2] South Carolina, Dec. 20, 1860; Mississippi, Jan. 9, 1861; Florida, Jan. 10, 1861; Alabama, Jan. 11, 1861; Georgia, Jan. 19, 1861; Louisiana, Jan. 26, 1861. Texas adopted an ordinance of secession, Feb. 1, 1861, but its delegates did not arrive in Montgomery in time to take part in the formation of the provisional

ment which they now proceeded to establish and to which they transferred their allegiance was foreign to that of the United States and its claim of sovereignty over the territory occupied by such states necessarily contradicted that of the United States.

Two of these states, South Carolina and Georgia, might plausibly claim to have been "sovereign and independent states" before the Constitution of the United States was adopted and they gave in their adhesion to the Union. When they came into the Union they brought with them their territory and, if allowed to secede, they would subtract from the territory of the United States only such portion as had been theirs before the Union was formed. The others had no such standing. They were not organized states at all, much less "sovereign and independent states," and they made no contribution to the territory of the United States when they were admitted. They were organized as states of the Union, under and by virtue of the Constitution and laws of the United States, and on territory which had been acquired, by purchase or conquest, by the United States long before their existence as states began.

The United States effected the purchase of the Louisiana Territory, at an expense totaling, with interest and other charges, over $27,000,000,[1] in order to secure for

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government. It was formally admitted as a member of the Confederate States of America, Mar. 3, 1861, and its delegates participated in the formation of the final constitution of the Confederate States of America. The primary authorities for these facts are, of course, the constitutions, ordinances, and statutes of the several states.

[1] The price paid for the Louisiana Territory is commonly stated, in round numbers, as $15,000,000, but this does not include the sums paid, under the terms of the treaty, to settle the spoliation claims of American citizens against France on account of various seizures and depredations to American commerce since the year 1800. John B. McMaster in his *History of the People of the United States* * * * (New York, 1883–1913), II, 630, has figured the total cost as $27,-

the whole West and Northwest free navigation of the Mississippi River and an outlet to the sea. The treaty with France, ceding this territory to the United States, was ratified by the Senate by a vote of twenty-four to seven. Most of the opposition came from the New England and the North Atlantic states, which saw no necessity for such navigation and outlet, so long as they held ports on the Atlantic Ocean. Jefferson received, however, the almost unanimous support of the southern states and of all states west of the Alleghanies. In fact, if the United States had not acquired such territory by purchase, the feeling was so strong among all dwellers in the Mississippi Valley that, sooner or later, armed expeditions would have set out from Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Northern states bordering on the Ohio River and taken forcible possession of the mouth of the Mississippi and all the territory along its banks.[1]

267,621. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* adopts these figures as correct; see article "Louisiana Purchase," XVII, 62.

[1] The right of free navigation of the Mississippi River was secured to citizens of the United States by the treaty of 1783 between England and Spain and the United States, but those engaged in river commerce had been subjected to so many annoyances and exactions as to excite a dangerous and growing feeling that the "Dons" must be driven from New Orleans and the banks of the Mississippi at all hazards. The excitement culminated when the Spanish governor at New Orleans withdrew their right to deposit their merchandise and effects in New Orleans pending shipment to foreign ports. Impatient demands were made upon President Jefferson to abate the Spanish nuisance at the mouth of the river. Clubs and militia companies were organized, especially in Kentucky, with the avowed purpose of driving out the Spaniards. The House of Representatives called on the President for information, Dec. 17, 1802, and on December 22 he transmitted the required information, with a statement that he "was led by the regard due to the rights and interest of the United States and to the just sensibility of the portion of our fellow-citizens more immediately affected by the irregular proceeding at New Orleans to lose not a moment in causing every step to be taken which the occasion claimed from me, being equally aware of the obligation to maintain in all cases the rights of the nation * * *." On December 30 he transmitted a long letter from the governor-general of the Province of Loûisiana to Governor Claiborne of Mississippi Territory, dated Nov. 15, 1802, which undertakes to give the reasons for suspending the treaty

Florida and all of Alabama and Mississippi south of 32°28′ north latitude were purchased from Spain by the United States for $5,000,000, partly to settle a boundary dispute between Spain and the state of Georgia and to give Georgia free access to the Gulf of Mexico, but chiefly to rid the continent of the presence and influence of a foreign government which might, at any time, become hostile to the United States.

The United States purchased from Georgia, herself, all claim to territory lying west of her present state

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right of deposit and promises some relief. The letter closes delightfully with the expression, "I kiss your Excellency's hands. Your most affectionate servant. * * *"

In a special message to the Senate, Jan. 11, 1803, Jefferson called attention to a new complication. He said: "The cession of the Spanish Province of Louisiana to France, and perhaps of the Floridas, and the late suspension of our right of deposit at New Orleans are events of primary interest to the United States;" and he nominated Robert R. Livingston as minister to France, Charles Pinckney as minister to Spain, and James Monroe to be "Minister extraordinary and plenipotentiary" to both governments, "for the purpose of enlarging and more effectually securing our rights and interests in the river Mississippi and in the Territories eastward thereof."

In his annual message, Oct. 17, 1803, he apologized for calling Congress together at an earlier date than usual on account of "matters of great public concernment," and among other things said: "Congress witnessed at their late session the extraordinary agitation produced in the public mind by the suspension of our right of deposit at the port of New Orleans. * * * They were sensible that the continuance of that privation would be more injurious to our nation than any consequences which could flow from any mode of redress." He submitted for their approval the convention with France for the cession of Louisiana, and summed up its advantages as follows: "Whilst the property and sovereignty of the Mississippi and its waters secure an independent outlet for the produce of the Western States and an uncontrolled navigation through their whole course, free from collision with other powers and the dangers to our peace from that source, the fertility of the country, its climate and extent, promise in due season important aids to our Treasury, an ample provision for our posterity and a wide spread for the blessings of freedom and equal laws." James D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789–1897* (Washington, 1896–99), I, 346, 348, 350, 358. See also letter from Jefferson to Livingston, April 18, 1802, H. A. Washington (ed.), *Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Washington, 1854), IV, 431; Albert Phelps, *Louisiana, a Record of Expansion* (Boston, 1905), 155–58.

boundary, paying her therefor $1,250,000 and agreeing, as part of the consideration, to extinguish the claims of various Indian tribes to lands in the state of Georgia which was done later at an expense to the United States of over $4,000,000.[1]

The funds used and the power exercised in making these various purchases and in extinguishing adverse titles were *national.* The acquisition of such territory was urged and justified as a measure to promote the *national* welfare and the prosperity of all the States and particularly those of the great central West and Northwest.[2] The claim that the United States, by providing for the formation of states in such territory and their admission to the Union, deprived itself of sovereignty over such territory except at the pleasure of the states it had created, seemed, to most people at the North, too absurd for argument. What was bought for all and paid for by all should remain a part of the national domain, no matter what form of government was established upon it, or what subdivision into counties and states might be made for the convenient administration of local government.

The resolutions adopted by national parties prior to 1844 related to the character and achievements and executive capacity of candidates, rather than to any principles which might be said to differentiate one party from an-

[1] Article on "Georgia" in *Encyclopædia Britannica,* XI, 756; Horace Greeley, *The American Conflict, A History of the Great Rebellion in the United States of America* * * * (Hartford, 1864), I, 103.

[2] In his third annual message to Congress, Dec. 4, 1827, Pres. John Quincy Adams said: "The acquisition of them, made at the expense of the whole Union, not only in treasure but in blood, marks a right of property in them equally extensive. By the report and statements from the General Land Office now communicated it appears that under the present Government of the United States a sum little short of $33,000,000 has been paid from the common Treasury for that portion of this property which has been purchased from France and Spain, and for the extinction of the aboriginal titles." Richardson, *Messages,* II, 391.

other. A good candidate needed no platform on which to stand. But the Democratic national convention, which met at Baltimore in May, 1844 and nominated James K. Polk, adopted a long series of resolutions, the thirteenth of which was as follows: "13. *Resolved*, That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the *national objects* specified in the Constitution, and that we are opposed to the laws lately adopted, and to any law, for the distribution of such proceeds among the states, as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the Constitution."[1]

This plank was inserted without material change in the platforms adopted by the Democratic national conventions held at Baltimore in May, 1848,[2] and in June, 1852,[3] and at Cincinnati in June, 1856.[4] It remained good Democratic doctrine down to the break-up of that party just before the Civil War. The Cincinnati convention, which nominated James Buchanan for president, also "Resolved, That the Democratic party will expect of the next administration [Mr. Buchanan's] that every proper effort will be made to insure our ascendancy in the Gulf of Mexico, and *to maintain a permanent protection to the great outlets through which are emptied into its waters the products raised out of the soil and the commodities created by the industry of the people of our Western valleys and the Union at large.*"[5]

As soon as the ordinances of secession were passed--in many instances before--the several states seized the forts

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[1] Thomas Hudson McKee, *National Conventions and Platforms of all Political Parties* * * * (3d ed., Baltimore, 1900), 48–49. The italics are not in the original.

[2] *Ibid.*, 60.

[3] *Ibid.*, 76.

[4] *Ibid.*, 89.

[5] *Ibid.*, 93. The italics are not in the original.

and arsenals within their borders, with the exception of Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor and Fort Pickens and Key West in Florida, and took possession of all the arms and ammunition belonging to the United States, conveniently stored therein by a southern secretary of war. The officers of the United States army in charge of such forts and arsenals were either in full sympathy with the seceding states, or yielded to a mere show of force.[1]

South Carolina seceded on December 20, 1860, seized Fort Moultrie, Castle Pinckney, and the United States revenue cutter, William Aiken, on the twenty-seventh, the United States arsenal at Charleston on the thirtieth, and Fort Johnson on the second of January, 1861. The United States steamer, Star of the West, conveying supplies to the garrison of Fort Sumter, was fired on by the state artillery at the entrance to the harbor and forced to return without accomplishing its errand, January 9.[2]

Mississippi seceded on January 9, and on the twelfth planted a battery on the bluff at Vicksburg, thus asserting control over the navigation of the Mississippi River, and a few days later made good the assertion by firing on the steamer, A. O. Tyler, from Cincinnati—compelling her to stop and submit to examination by state officials. There were no forts of any importance and no United States arsenals within the state, but the governor of Louisiana, having taken possession of a well-stocked United States arsenal at Baton Rouge on the

[1] An accurate summary of the various steps taken by the seceding states is given under the title of "Preliminary Events," in Robert U. Johnson and C. C. Buel (eds.), *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York, 1884–87), I.

[2] Davis, *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, I, 213–14, 217–18; Edward A. Pollard, *Southern History of the War: First Year of the War* (New York, 1863), 36; James F. Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850* (New York, 1893–1906), III, 198, 218, 221–22; *Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America* * * * (Richmond, 1864), 163.

tenth, generously forwarded to the governor of Mississippi 8,000 muskets, 1,000 rifles, six 24-pounder guns, and a quantity of ammunition out of the stores captured by him.[1]

Florida did not secede until January 10, 1861, but the state authorities seized the United States arsenal at Apalachicola on the sixth, and Fort Marion at St. Augustine on the seventh. They seized Barrancas Barracks, Fort Barrancas and Fort McRee, and the navy yard at Pensacola, and demanded the surrender of Fort Pickens on the twelfth, and repeated the demand for the surrender on the fifteenth and the eighteenth. Its commander thought, with Major Anderson, that he owed fealty to the government the uniform of which he wore and which had entrusted this fort to his keeping, and it was kept.[2]

Alabama did not secede until January 11, but the state authorities seized the United States arsenal at Mount Vernon on the fourth, and Forts Morgan and Gaines on Mobile Bay on the fifth.[3]

Georgia did not secede until January 19, but the state authorities seized Fort Pulaski on the third, and appeared with a force of about 800 militia and some cannon before the United States arsenal at Augusta and demanded its surrender on the twenty-fourth.[4]

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[1] Davis, *Rise and fall of the Confederate Government*, I, 220–21 (suppresses the incident of the battery at Vicksburg); Pollard, *First Year of the War*, 37; Rhodes, *History of the United States*, III, 258–59; James W. Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi* * * * (New York, 1901), 8–9.

[2] Davis, *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, I, 220; Pollard, *First Year of the War*, 37, 40; Rhodes, *History of the United States*, III, 259, 280–81.

[3] Davis, *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, I, 220–21; Pollard, *First Year of the War*, 37, 40; Walter L. Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama* (New York, 1905), 37, 47–48.

[4] Davis, *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, I, 220; Pollard, *First Year of the War*, 37, 40; Rhodes, *History of the United States*, III, 272–74; Isaac W. Avery, *History of the State of Georgia from 1850 to 1881* * * * (New York, 1881), 155, 161–64.

Louisiana did not secede until January 26, but the state authorities seized the United States barracks and arsenal, with large quantities of cannon, small arms, and ammunition, at Baton Rouge on the tenth, Forts Jackson and St. Philip on the Mississippi, and the United States marine hospital below New Orleans on the eleventh, Fort Pike on the fourteenth, and the United States Mint and customhouse, with a large amount of specie, on February 1.[1]

This series of aggressive acts, every one of which would have been instantly recognized as an act of war if perpetrated by any foreign power, made peaceable separation an impossibility; though the supineness of the administration and its failure to defend, or to take any steps to recover, any of its property misled the people of the South who still retained Union sentiments. They inferred that the right of secession was conceded, or that, at any rate, the North would not fight to preserve the Union. The unionists, who were undoubtedly in the majority in the states of Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee down to the winter of 1861, were so weakened in their attachment to, and their respect for, the national government that, when forced to choose--as it was adroitly presented--between North and South, by the firing on Sumter and the President's proclamation calling for 75,000 men to suppress insurrection, they sided with their southern brethren.[2]

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[1] Davis, *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, I, 220; Pollard, *First Year of the War*, 37, 40; Rhodes, *History of the United States*, III, 272–73, 280, 322; Phelps, *Louisiana*, 305–6; Garner *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, 8–9; *Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States*, 43–44, 62–63, 94–95, 154; John C. Schwab, *Confederate States of America 1861–1865* * * * (New York, 1904), 6, 9, 43, 85.

[2] In a carefully written address at Raleigh, N. C., July 4, 1865, S. F. Phillips, a lawyer of great ability, afterwards speaker of the North Carolina House of Representatives and solicitor-general of the United States, said: "If there had been a *purpose* to facilitate the formation of a Southern Confederacy, the con-

Lincoln failed to estimate correctly the gravity of the crisis, the grim determination of the cotton states to effect a final separation, the preparations they had already made for war, and the spontaneous uprising of the North, when thus challenged to fight for the Union or yield to forcible secession.

While there had been, on the part of extreme abolitionists and peace Democrats, some expressions of willingness to let the slave states go in peace,[1] there had been at the North a growing feeling of resentment and wounded national pride during the progress of these events, which did not altogether escape the notice of keen observers in the border states, although its force and intensity were not fully appreciated anywhere, and were not even suspected in the Gulf states.[2]

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duct of the Government must have been very much what it actually was before March, 1861. To many who were loyally disposed it seemed that the United States was admitting its career to be at an end, and that thereafter the continent was * * * to be divided between a North and a South. This presented a new question to North Carolina. The State preferred the Union to any new government whatever, but, as between a North and a South, the most powerful arguments and sympathies impelled her to take part with the latter. Her people observed that the United States (so-called) had allowed force to be applied to strip it of its possessions in many places without resistance. * * * I presume that no doubt is entertained now that this supineness upon the part of the Federal Government, among a thousand evil consequences * * * confirmed the impression sedulously cultivated by its enemies, that the Government was already among the things of the past." Quoted in Cincinnati *Gazette*, July 13, 1865. See also Allen Johnson, *Stephen A. Douglas: A Study in American Politics* (New York, 1908), 441.

[1] New York *Tribune*, Nov. 9 and 26, Dec. 17, 1860, and Feb. 23, 1861; Albany (N. Y.) *Argus*, Nov. 10 and 12, 1860; Ashtabula (Ohio) *Sentinel*, Feb. 6 and 13, 1861; Cincinnati *Commercial*, Jan. 31 (article attributed to Salmon P. Chase) and Feb. 1, 1861; Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Feb. 8, 1861; *Ohio State Journal*, Nov. 13, 17, and 28, 1860, Mar. 27, 1861. Wendell Phillips in a speech at Boston, and William Lloyd Garrison, in an editorial in the *Liberator*, rejoiced in the prospect of the slave states departing and taking their "institution" with them. Thurlow Weed Barnes, *Memoir of Thurlow Weed* (Boston, 1884), II, 305; Davis, *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, I, 252–57.

[2] "All of these events had been accomplished without bloodshed. Abolitionism and Fanaticism had not yet lapped blood. But reflecting men saw that the peace

When Fort Sumter was bombarded and forced to surrender in order "to fire the Southern heart" and hasten the secession of the border slave states, the match was also touched to the explosive compound of sentiment and wrath at the North. President Lincoln could have secured 300,000 volunteers in the spring of 1861 as easily as 75,000.[1] It was a grave error to limit his call to a number which excited only ridicule at the South where, already, more than 100,000 men had been enrolled, organized, drilled, and fairly well equipped for the field.[2] Even those men who kept their feelings under the control of reason could see that no lasting peace was possible, even if secession were acquiesced in, so long as such an aggressive, self-willed, military-loving people had anything to gain either by force or intrigue. Acquiescence in their secession and accompanying acts would only embolden them to make further demands.[3] The slave states, if allowed to organize as a separate nation, could not suppress the discussion of slavery in the North, could not recover escaped slaves, and could not extend the bounds

was deceitful and temporizing; that the temper of the North was impatient and dark; and that, if all history was not a lie, the first incident of bloodshed would be the prelude to a war of monstrous proportions." Pollard, *First Year of the War*, 40.

[1] In Ohio, volunteers enough to fill twenty-six regiments, in addition to the thirteen called for, offered their services and the governor was authorized by the state legislature to accept them in anticipation of further calls. *Laws of Ohio*, LVIII, 107, 126–27, 132. Other northern states were not far behind.

[2] Pollard, *First Year of the War*, 48, 59; Schwab, *Confederate States of America*. Robert Toombs, secretary of state of the southern Confederacy, in a letter to Commissioners Yancey, Rost, and Mann, dated Mar. 16, 1861, stated that the Confederate States were then ready to bring 100,000 in to the field. James D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy* * * * (Nashville, 1905), II, 6. This number was doubled before September, *ibid.*, 31.

[3] The New Orleans *Bee*, March 10, 1861, said: "The Black Republicans are a cowardly set after all. They have not the courage of their own convictions * * *. Appearances indicate their disposition even to forego the exquisite delight of sending armies and fleets to make war on the Confederate States."

of slavery on the American continent any better than they could while states of the Union, unless they resorted to force. An aristocracy in the South supported by slave labor, fond of martial exercises and display, contemptuous of the supposed craven spirit of the North that would submit to any insult rather than fight, would have been a constant menace to the peace and prosperity of the North. The coolest felt that the time had come to assert the national power and meet force with force.

In the great states of the interior, fear that they would be deprived of all the advantages secured to them by the Louisiana Purchase, as well as national pride, operated to unite the people against the secessionists, and of this apprehension the southern leaders in Congress were fully advised. Leading Democrats, as well as Republicans, from states bordering on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, sounded the alarm as soon as the intention of the Gulf states to secede became apparent. The thought that the mouths of the Mississippi and the great Gulf ports were again to pass into the hands of a foreign power, and a power which had already shown its disposition to use force for the accomplishment of its purposes, was intolerable to all who had the interests of that section at heart. If the Gulf states could secede and block navigation on the Mississippi and access to their ports, except on such terms as they might prescribe, it followed as a matter of course that the Atlantic states could do likewise and the great interior would be at their mercy.[1]

[1] Oliver P. Morton, (Republican), then lieutenant governor-elect of Indiana, soon to be governor and afterwards United States senator, said in a great speech, Nov. 22, 1860: "If South Carolina may secede peaceably, so may New York, Massachusetts, Maryland and Louisiana, cutting off our commerce and destroying our right of way to the ocean. We should thus be shut up in the interior of a continent, surrounded by independent, perhaps hostile nations, through whose territories we could obtain egress to the seaboard only upon

So far from deterring them, this knowledge of the fears entertained by the people of the Northwest only encouraged the southern leaders to pursue their plans. They had embodied in their constitution a threat which they thought would force the border slave states to join them, by giving Congress the power "to prohibit the introduction of slaves from any State not a member of * * * this Confederacy." They now counted on their ability to force the states, the waters of which were tributary to the Mississippi, either to join the Confederacy, or

such terms as might be agreed to by treaty." William D. Foulke, *Life of Oliver P. Morton, Including His Important Speeches* (Indianapolis, 1899), I, 90.

Senator Doolittle (Republican) of Wisconsin, in a letter to the Republicans of Milwaukee, said: "We have not purchased Florida to protect our entrance into the Gulf of Mexico, nor Louisiana to control the outlet of the Mississippi valley, nor annexed Texas, and defended her against Mexico at the expense of forty thousand lives, and $100,000,000 *to suffer them now to pass under a foreign and hostile jurisdiction.*" This letter was read and commented on in the U. S. Senate, Dec. 5, 1860, 36 Cong., 2 sess., *Congressional Globe*, pt. 1, 9.

Senator Grimes (Republican) of Iowa wrote to an assembly of the citizens of Burlington, Iowa, which he had been invited to address: "Our position in the centre of the continent, without foreign commerce, dependent upon other States for our markets and for our means for transportation to reach them, would soon, if the right to destroy the Union by secession of the States be conceded, place us in the character of a dependent and conquered province. We need, and must have, at whatever cost, a permanent government and unrestricted access to the Atlantic Ocean and to the Gulf of Mexico. There must be no foreign soil between us and our markets." William Salter, *Life of James W. Grimes* * * * (New York, 1876), 148.

Vallandigham (Democrat) of Ohio, who had not yet wholly adjusted his eyes to southern spectacles, said in the House of Representatives, Dec. 10, 1860: "Sir, we of the Northwest have a deeper interest in the preservation of this Government in its present form, than any other section of the Union. Hemmed in, isolated, cut off from the sea-board upon every side; a thousand miles and more from the mouth of the Mississippi, *the free navigation of which* under the law of nations, *we demand, and will have at every cost;* with nothing else but our other great inland seas, the lakes—and their outlet, too, through a foreign country—what is to be our destiny? * * * Where is to be our outlet? * * * We are seven States now, with fourteen Senators and fifty-one Representatives, and a population of nine millions. * * * We do not mean to be a dependency or province either of the East or of the South; * * * and if we cannot secure a maritime boundary upon other terms, we will cleave our way to the seacoast with the sword." 36 Cong., 2 sess., *Cong. Globe*, pt. 1, 38.

to break away from New England and the Atlantic states and form a northwestern confederacy, which would, for its own interest, ally itself by treaty with the southern Confederacy. Some used threats, others made promises—all calculated to induce the Northwest to acquiesce in secession and ultimately to join the southern Confederacy.[1]

McClernand (Democrat) of Illinois, afterwards major general of United States volunteers, said on the same day: "Peaceable secession, in my judgment, is a fatal, a deadly illusion. * * * "

"What, too, would be the fate of the youthful but giant Northwest, in the event of a separation of the slaveholding from the non-slaveholding States? Cut off from the main Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico on one hand, or from the eastern Atlantic ports on the other, she would gradually sink into a pastoral State, and to a standard of national inferiority. This the hardy and adventurous millions of the Northwest would be unwilling to consent to. * * * No power on earth could restrain them from freely and unconditionally communicating with the Gulf and the great mart of New York." *Ibid.*, 39.

Senator Andrew Johnson (Democrat) of Tennessee, afterwards president of the United States, said, Dec. 19, 1860; "Again: take the case of Louisiana. What did we pay for her in 1803, and for what was she wanted? * * * Was it not to secure the free navigation of the Mississippi river, the mouth of which was then in possession of France, shortly before, of Spain * * * Simply for Louisiana? No, but for all the States. * * * And now, after all this; after the money has been paid, after the free navigation of the river has been obtained * * * Louisiana says to the other States, 'We will go out of this Confederacy * * * if we think proper, and constitute ourselves an independent Power, and bid defiance to the other States.' It is an absurdity * * *" *Ibid.*, 137.

Senator Douglas of Illinois, the Democrat who had received a larger vote for president than all others opposed to Lincoln and who might therefore be considered the representative of northern Democracy, wrote to his friend, C. H. Lanphier, Dec. 25, 1860: "The prospects are gloomy, but I do not yet despair of the Union. *We can never acknowledge the right of a State to secede and cut us off from the Ocean and the world, without our consent.*" Johnson, *Stephen A. Douglas*, 447.

Governor Magoffin (Democrat) of Kentucky, in an address to the people of Kentucky after the election of Lincoln, said: "To South Carolina and such other States as may wish to secede from the Union, I would say: 'The geography of this country will not admit of a division; the mouth and sources of the Mississippi river cannot be separated without the horrors of civil war. We cannot sustain you in this movement merely on account of the election of Lincoln.' " Greeley, *American Conflict*, I, 340–41.

[1] Senator Wigfall (Democrat) of Texas said, Dec. 12, 1860: "Ohio and Indiana and Illinois may see that the grain, and the meat, and the hemp, and the horses, and the mules, which they now furnish to us, may be bought in Kentucky and

As confidently expected by the Gulf states, all the slave states united with the Confederacy when the issue was joined, except Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, and Missouri. They fully expected Missouri and Kentucky to join, also, but sentiment was so divided in these states that nothing but internecine warfare resulted until the United States occupied both states in force.

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in Missouri and in Tennessee; and they may leave you [addressing the New England Senators in the cold and come to us." 36 Cong., 2 sess., *Cong. Globe*, pt. 1, 74.

We have noticed (see *ante*, 221) the act of Mississippi in firing on a steamer navigating the Mississippi and compelling it to stop and be searched by an officer of the state. A few days later Louisiana adopted a resolution recognizing "the right of the free navigation of the Mississippi River and its tributaries by all friendly States bordering thereon," and also "the right of egress and ingress of the mouths of the Mississippi by all *friendly States* and powers." John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1890), III, 192–93. If the northwestern states adhered to the South there would be no interruption of trade; if they adhered to the Union they could not be classed as "friendly." The Provisional Congress of the Confederate States provided, by act approved Feb. 25, 1861, that the free navigation of the Mississippi River should be extended "to the citizens of the States upon its borders or upon the borders of its navigable tributaries." *Statutes at Large*, chap. xiv, 36–38. This might be construed as referring only to states coming under the Constitution of the Confederate States.

Senator Slidell of Louisiana said in answer to Senator Johnson's remarks (*ante*, 228) that they proposed to extend the free navigation of the Mississippi to every citizen of the Northwest. Johnson replied, "That may all be very true * * * It is a power that I am not willing to concede to be exercised at the discretion of any authority outside of this Government." 36 Cong., 2 sess., *Cong. Globe*, pt. I, 137.

Alexander H. Stephens, the newly elected vice-president of the Confederate States, said in a speech at Savannah, Ga., Mar. 21, 1861: "Looking to the distant future,—and perhaps not very distant either—it is not beyond the range of possibility, and even probability, that all the great States of the Northwest shall gravitate this way, as well as Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Arkansas, etc." Henry Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America* (Boston, 1872–84), III, 125.

Just four years later, Lewis Hanes of North Carolina said in a bold speech at Newbern, N. C.: "The only hope I have ever seen of success in this struggle was that the Northwestern States might be induced to join our Confederacy. The manner in which those States voted in the late Presidential election has dispelled that hope forever, and, in my judgment, has sealed the fate of the Confederacy." Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, Feb. 23, 1865.

There were substantial grounds for hoping that the Northwest, also, would join the Confederacy. The principal trade of all these states had been with the South. As indicated in the discussions preceding secession, the Mississippi Valley was the natural outlet for the live stock, produce, and manufactures of the states west of the Alleghanies. Large fleets of steamboats were employed in carrying such products from the valleys of the Ohio, Missouri, and upper Mississippi to western Tennessee, Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana, and such parts of Texas as were watered by the Red River and its tributaries. They returned laden with cotton, sugar, molasses, and tropical fruits, which were distributed throughout the Northwest. When Cincinnati was deprived of its southern trade by the war and the reconstruction troubles it almost ceased to grow. Every year before the war, thousands of flatboats were rudely constructed, filled with bacon, flour, cornmeal, potatoes, apples, dried fruits, and other products, which were peddled out on the lower Mississippi, and the boats themselves were sold for lumber. Why should the Northwest sacrifice this lucrative trade?

With the exception of eastern Ohio, the Northwest was chiefly an agricultural country and the natural inclination of the people was toward free trade, modified only by the necessity for a national revenue. The high tariff, it was argued, benefited only New England, and the Northwest must, in its own interest, emancipate itself from the domination of eastern manufacturers and importers and ally itself with the southern states, with which it had always enjoyed close business relations. There might be a "foolish prejudice" against slavery on the part of some people in northern Ohio, northern Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota, but there was little or

no such sentiment in the territory bordering on the Ohio River and Missouri. What little there was might be expected to disappear in the face of the material advantages of a southern alliance.

The United States census of 1860 showed that 274,146* of the people of Missouri, 179,426 of the people of Illinois, 161,213 of the people of Indiana, 134,210 of the people of Ohio, and 54,781 of the people of Iowa, were born in slave states.[1] The percentage of such persons living in the above-named states varied from 5.74 per cent in Ohio to 24 per cent in Missouri. The men of southern birth were among the earliest settlers of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. They dominated the Democratic party and, through it, practically controlled those states until the formation of the Republican party. Their sympathies were naturally with the South. Some of them took their slaves with them into Indiana and Illinois, and the rest, if not actually proslavery, saw no particular harm in the "institution."[2]

[1] The infusion of southern blood in other states of the Northwest was a negligible quantity. The following table shows the derivation of the persons born in slave states and residing in the above-named states.

State	Del.	Md.	Va.	Ky.	N. C.	Tenn.	All others
Illinois	1,888	10,476	32,978	60,193	13,597	39,012	21,282
Indiana	2,301	9,673	36,848	68,588	26,942	10,356	6,505
Iowa	850	4,663	17,994	13,204	4,690	5,773	7,607
Missouri	747	6,015	53,957	99,814	20,259	73,594	*19,760
Ohio	3,045	28,680	75,874	15,074	4,701	2,006	4,830
Total	8,831	59,507	217,651	256,873	70,189	130,741	59,984

* This does not include children born in Missouri; but such children, living in the other states named, are included under the head of "All others."

[2] "The feelings of the people of Indiana were not unfriendly to the South nor to her 'peculiar institution.' The State was considered one of the 'outlying provinces of the empire of slavery.' " Foulke, *Life of Morton*, I, 35.

From 1789 to 1807 there had been a continuous struggle on the part of the Legislative Council and House of Representatives of Indiana Territory—then comprising all of the Northwest Territory except the state of Ohio—to secure a suspension of the sixth article of the Ordinance of 1787, so as to permit the introduction of slaves into the Territory. In December, 1805 a petition was presented to Congress praying for such suspension, and February 14, 1806 the committee to which the petition was referred reported favorably, saying: "The suspension of this Article is an object almost universally desired in that Territory." No final action having been taken on the subject before the adjournment of Congress, on January 20, 1807 the speaker laid before the House of Representatives a letter from William Henry Harrison, governor of the Territory and afterwards president of the United States, transmitting certain resolutions which he said had been *unanimously adopted* by the Territorial Council and House of Representatives in favor of sus-

"The Illinois Senators had voted for the admission of Missouri as a slave State. * * * Many people who had land and farms to sell, looked upon the good fortune of Missouri with envy; whilst the lordly immigrant, as he passed along with his money and droves of negroes, took a malicious pleasure in increasing it by pretending to regret the short-sighted policy of Illinois, which exclude him from settlement, and from purchasing and holding lands. In this mode a desire to make Illinois a Slave State became quite prevalent." Shelby M. Cullom, *Fifty Years of Public Service* * * * (Chicago, 1911), 17. It was not until 1823 that "the question of making Illinois permanently a Slave State was put to rest by a majority of about two thousand votes. The census of 1850 was the first that enumerated no slaves in our State." *Ibid.*, 19.

"When Illinois was admitted to the Union in 1818, all the organized counties lay to the south of the projected national road between Terre Haute and Alton, hence well within the sphere of surrounding Southern influences. The society of Illinois was at this time predominantly Southern in its origin and characteristics. * * * The movement to make Illinois a slave State was motived by the desire to accelerate immigration from the South." Johnson, *Stephen A. Douglas*, 152–53. "When Illinois was admitted as a State, there were over seven hundred negroes held in servitude. In spite of the Ordinance of 1787, Illinois was practically a slave Territory." *Ibid.*, 155.

pending the obnoxious sixth article. A committee again reported favorably on the resolutions and its report was sustained in the House, but failed in the Senate, and there the matter seems to have dropped, so far as Congressional action was concerned.[1]

There was, of course, considerable intercourse and communication between these settlers from the South and their relatives and old neighbors in Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and the mass of the people in those states might be pardoned for believing that the border states of the North would not be disinclined to unite their fortunes with the South.

As in most matters of diplomacy and intrigue—especially those which fail of success—the public was not informed of what was going on in secret, and it is only by piecing together bits of information gathered here and there that we can trace the movements for the establishment of a northwestern confederacy, which should, at least, be in full sympathy with the South.

Among the various plans proposed for saving the Union during the winter of 1860–61, attention should be called to that of C. L. Vallandigham, who had shown in his speech of December 10, 1860 that he appreciated the importance to the Northwest of the free navigation of the Mississippi.[2]

On February 7, 1861 he proposed amendments to the Constitution of the United States, with several whereases, the last two of which read as follows:

And *whereas* it concerns the peace and stability of the Federal Union and Government that a division of the States into mere slave-holding

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[1] Davis, *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, I, 8–10; McMaster, *History of the United States*, III, 521–28. One of the interesting facts which McMaster brings out is that just after the Louisiana Purchase the people of Illinois petitioned Congress to be set off from the Indiana Territory and attached to Louisiana. *Ibid.*, 526.

[2] *Ante*, 227, note.

and non-slaveholding sections, causing hitherto, and from the nature and necessity of the case, inflammatory and disastrous controversies upon the subject of slavery * * * should be forever hereafter ignored; and *whereas*, this important end is best to be attained by the recognition of other sections without regard to slavery, neither of which sections shall alone be strong enough to oppress or control the others, and each be vested with the power to protect itself from aggressions. Therefore: * * *

The United States should be divided into *four* sections instead of *two;* the first to consist of the New England states, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; the second to consist of the northwestern states and any new states formed out of territory now held or hereafter acquired north of latitude 36° 30′ east of the crest of the Rocky Mountains; the third to consist of California, Oregon, and all new states formed out of territory west of the Rocky Mountains and the Rio Grande; and the fourth—by far the largest and strongest of all, as matters then stood—to consist of all the slave states, and all new states which might be formed out of territory south of latitude 36° 30′ and east of the Rio Grande.

No act could be passed except by the concurrence of all four sections; any one section could, therefore, defeat legislation desired by all of the other three. No president or vice-president could be elected except by the concurrence of a majority of all the electors of each section; a mere majority of the electors in any one section could, therefore, defeat the election of a president desired by all the rest; and, if the election of a president was thrown into the Senate by reason of the opposition of a little more than one-half of one-fourth of all the electors, the senators were to vote by sections and a majority of the senators of any one section could defeat the choice of a president desired by all the others.[1]

[1] 36 Cong., 2 sess., *Cong. Globe*, pt. 1, 794–95.

The ship of state was to be kept afloat by dividing the hull into four separate compartments, removing sails and machinery, and preventing any one from taking command. A more effectual scheme for blocking legislation and elections could hardly be devised.

On February 20, 1861 Vallandigham addressed the House at length, elucidating and advocating his scheme, and trying to give it a philosophical gloss. Majorities were inclined to be despotic and to disregard the rights of minorities; *ergo*, they must be subjected to the will of the minority. It was dangerous to entrust any man with the disbursement of $80,000,000 a year and the appointment of hundreds of officials; *ergo*, one-eighth of the people could prevent any man's having such power. Quoting from a letter of Thomas Jefferson to a Mr. Holmes, in 1820, "A geographical line coinciding with a marked principle, moral and political, once conceived and held up to the angry passions of men, will never be obliterated, and every new irritation will mark it deeper and deeper," and stating that "it is this very coincidence of geographical line with the marked principle, moral and political, of slavery, which I propose to reach and to obliterate in the only way possible; by running other lines, coinciding with other and less dangerous principles, none of them moral." Vallandigham proposed to bound one of the sections by the line between the free and the slave states, adding some unorganized territory to the latter, and then to divide the free states into three sections.[1] If he had

[1] *Ibid.*, app., 235–43. On Jan. 11, 1860 the Democratic State Convention of Alabama resolved, among other things, that "all issues and principles" were "inferior in dignity and importance to the great question of slavery." Pollard, *First Year of the War*, 29–30. So a division of the slave states on any other principle was manifestly out of the question. The political "solidity" of the South has not been broken from that day to this, except in superficial appearance during the Reconstruction period.

intended to make the slave states all powerful and to dissipate the strength of the free states by division, he could not have devised a better scheme.

"Sunset" Cox has vouched for the patriotism and sincerity of Vallandigham[1] but Vallandigham had resided and taught school in Maryland and married a daughter of a Maryland planter. He saw slavery at its best and, like Douglas, felt that the agitation against it was fanatical, unreasonable, and destructive. He was a very intense man and had exceptional ability as a public speaker. His vocabulary of vituperation was extensive. But he must have been strangely lacking in a sense of humor and very narrow-minded if he sincerely believed the constitutional *establishment* of the line between the slave states and the free would *obliterate* it.

This idea of making a separate section of the Northwest and of ultimately allying it with the southern states took deep root in Vallandigham's mind and thereafter became one of the governing principles of his political life, leading him on to actions and combinations which bordered on treason.[2]

After the fall of Sumter and the call for volunteers, to which the northwestern states responded enthusiastically, enrolling double their respective quotas under the call, very little was heard for a time of an alliance between

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[1] Samuel Sullivan, *Three Decades of Federal Legislation* (1886), 80–81.

[2] Jacob D. Cox, *Military Reminiscences of the Civil War* (New York, 1900), I, 459; Emilius O. Randall and Daniel J. Ryan, *History of Ohio* * * * (New York, 1912–15), IV, 209–10.

After the secession of Georgia, Jan. 22, 1861, Ranse Wright, commissioner from that state to Maryland, found Governor Hicks of that state uncompromisingly opposed to secession, and, if a disruption were made, he favored a central confederacy, including New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Virginia, Missouri, and Ohio, and was then in correspondence with the governor of those states upon the subject. Isaac W. Avery, *History of the State of Georgia* * * * (New York, 1881), 165.

the South and the Northwest. The Confederates seized and fortified strong positions on the banks of the Mississippi, in Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana, and closed the river to navigation from Cairo to the forts below New Orleans. Little mention was made of an alliance with the Northwest in the newspapers, or in the public proceedings of legislative bodies, thereafter, for more than a year; but many persons both in the North and the South had an idea that such a union or alliance might be possible and it found expression in private conversation and correspondence.

Gen. J. D. Cox, the Union commander in West Virginia during a large part of the years 1861–62, wrote as follows to Aaron F. Perry of Cincinnati under date of December 18, 1862:

> In arguing the general question of disunion we have been so in the habit of talking of the possession of the whole length of the Mississippi as indispensable to the Western States that there is danger of that very argument being used against us, if we should suddenly find disunion a *fait accompli*. Then, as if in anticipation of something of the sort, the Confederates have constantly made a show of different feeling toward the West from that which they have manifested toward the East. They have professed to have less bitterness, greater appreciation of our bravery, greater willingness to be reconciled to us, &c. The extent to which this has been carried can hardly be believed by one who has not been meeting them in the field.[1]

All correspondence passing through the lines between West Virginia families and their relatives in the southern armies was necessarily scanned pretty closely, and the General had frequent opportunities to discuss matters with prisoners and their families. Boxes and trunks full of letters were captured or brought out of their hiding places, among them the letters, diaries, and other papers

[1] Political Correspondence of Maj. General J. D. Cox. Manuscript.

of General Floyd, and Gen. Alfred Beckley.[1] One of the most interesting of these prisoners was Clifton W. Tayleure, formerly an editor of the Baltimore *American* and, when captured, a correspondent of the Richmond *Enquirer*, who might have been shot for a spy if he had fallen into other hands than those of Colonel (afterwards President) Hayes and General Cox. They were much interested in what he had to say, and finding him a gentleman and anxious to reach and remain with his family in Baltimore, General Cox allowed him to go there under parole.[2]

On January 8, 1862 Thomas A. Hendricks, afterwards senator from Indiana, governor of Indiana, and Democratic candidate for vice-president in 1876, made a speech, upon taking the chair at a Democratic state convention, in which he revealed an undercurrent of thought then prevailing in his party and especially that portion of it which peopled the southern counties. He said, among other things:

> We are now being so crushed that if we and our children are not to become the hewers of wood and drawers of water for the capitalists of New England and Pennsylvania, we must look to the interests of our section * * * To encourage and stimulate the people of the South in the production of their peculiar commodities, that they may be large buyers from us, has been, and so long as "grass grows and water runs," will be, the true interest of the Northwest. * * *
>
> The first and highest interest of the Northwest is in the restoration and preservation of the Union * * * *but if the failure and folly and wickedness of the party in power render a Union impossible, then the mighty Northwest must take care of herself and her own interests.* She must not allow the arts and finesse of New England to despoil her of her richest commerce and trade * * * .[3]

[1] Cox, *Military Reminiscences*, I, 153–64; Charles R. Williams, *Life of Rutherford Birchard Hayes* (Boston, 1914), I, 138, 148–51, 154, 159, 161, 163.

[2] *Ibid.*, 166–67.

[3] Foulke, *Life of Morton*, I 175–76. This is a well-written, accurate, and very informing biography.

This "keynote" was almost silenced for a time by the Union victories at Mill Springs, Kentucky, on January 20, at Fort Henry on February 6, and at Fort Donelson on February 16. But on the very day that Fort Donelson surrendered the Richmond *Enquirer* published a telegraphic dispatch from Mobile, the nature of which is sufficiently indicated by the heading, "Grand Programme For Forming a Northwestern Confederacy."

There is abundant evidence, some of which has been referred to, that peace advocates and southern sympathizers residing in the North were in correspondence with friends in the South during the years 1862-64, and that the forming of a Northwestern confederacy constituted the staple of many letters.[1] The speeches of Vallandigham of Ohio, Hendricks and Voorhees of Indiana, Richardson of Illinois, and other northern Democrats, advocating a suspension of hostilities and a reunion between the southwestern and the northwestern states, met with a ready response in the shape of communications to southern newspapers and favoring editorials in some of them.

The northward drive of Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston,

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[1] In the correspondence of Isham G. Harris, Confederate, Governor of Tennessee, were found letters from John D. Riley, dated Belleville, Ala., March 12, 1862, and F. W. Pickens, dated Murfreesboro, Tenn., July 24, 1862, urging Harris to arrange a meeting with the Governors of the Northwestern States at Memphis, to consult as to terms of peace, or to negotiate a separate treaty with any of them who might feel so disposed. Pickens said, among other things: "If the subject were properly opened, we might discover a desire in these States to erect themselves into a separate government, or at least to agree upon terms of peace as far as they are concerned. Such a meeting of Governors would give them an opportunity to act independent of the despotic and fanatical government at Washington. * * * Nothing that we might do must ever be construed as a sanction to any policy calculated to adopt or admit any non-slaveholding State as part of the Confederacy." Harris replied: "While I concur with you in intent and should rejoice in the accomplishment of the object, yet I am persuaded * * * it is safer and better to leave this matter in the hands of the common government of us all." Letters reprinted in Cincinnati *Commercial*, Sept. 1, 1865.

resulting in the bloody battle of Shiloh, April 6 and 7, 1862, had for its immediate object the recovery of the states of Tennessee and Kentucky and, this being accomplished, the invasion of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, the overthrow of the loyal governments there, and the establishment of new governments in sympathy with the South.[1]

General Bragg invaded Kentucky in the summer of 1862, threatened Cincinnati and Louisville, inaugurated a Confederate governor at Frankfort, and after several minor engagements fought the battle of Perryville, October 8, 1862. In this battle he inflicted severe losses on some raw recruits in the northern army and then, despairing of any substantial victory over Buell's veteran army which confronted him, made good his retreat. He carried with him into Kentucky 20,000 stand of arms for the recruits he had been led to expect there and those he might find with their aid, on crossing the Ohio. But his "ringing proclamation," offering Kentuckians an "opportunity to free themselves from the tyranny of a despotic ruler," brought no response. On October 12 he reported that not only was there no demand for these extra weapons, but that fully one-half the arms left in his hands, by reason of casualties in his command, remained unused.[2]

The military results of Bragg's movement were small; but one object had been to affect the fall elections in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and it did so to some extent, for all of these states returned Democratic majorities.

[1] Davis, *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, II, 61. After deploring the untimely death of Johnston, he says: "With a skillful commander, like Johnston, to lead our troops, the enemy would have sought safety on the north bank of the Ohio; * * * Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri would have been recovered, the Northwest disaffected, and our armies filled with the men of the Southwest, *and perhaps of the Northwest also*." The italics are not in the original.

[2] *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, ser. 1, XVI, pt. 1, 1088 and pt. 2, 771, 822.

Of course, McClellan's disasters in the Peninsular Campaign and Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation contributed to this result. The Unionists were profoundly discouraged. Governor Morton was furious at Bragg's success—in electioneering—and his subsequent escape, and demanded the removal of General Buell, which soon followed.[1]

On January 1, 1863 the Democracy of Brown County, Indiana, resolved that if the rebellion should be consummated by the recognition of the southern Confederacy, their interests and inclinations would demand a withdrawal from political associations with New England.[2]

[1] Foulke, *Life of Morton*, I, 197–98. On Oct. 27, 1862 Morton wrote to President Lincoln: "The fate of the North is trembling in the balance. The result of the late elections admonishes all who understand its import that not an hour is to be lost. The Democratic politicians of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois assume that the rebellion will not be crushed, and that the independence of the rebel Confederacy will, before many months, be practically acknowledged." *Ibid.*, 208. "They ask the question, 'what shall be the destiny of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois? Shall they remain attached to the old government, or shall they secede and form a new one,—a Northwestern Confederacy—as a preparatory step to annexation with the South?' The latter project is the programme, and has been for the last twelve months. During the recent campaign it was the staple of every Democratic speech—that we had no interests or sympathies in common with the people of the Northern and Eastern states; that New England is fattening at our expense * * * that geographically these states are a part of the Mississippi Valley, and, in their political associations and destiny, can not be separated from the other States of that valley; * * * that the people of the Northwest can never consent to be separated politically from the people who control the mouth of that river.

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The South would have the prestige of success; the commerce of the world would be opened to feed and furnish her armies, and she would contend for every foot of land west of the Alleghenies, and in the struggle would be supported by a powerful party in these States. * * * The plan which I have to suggest is the complete clearing out of all obstacles to the navigation of the Mississippi river and the thorough conquest of the states upon its western bank * * * the creation of a guaranty against the further depreciation of the loyalty of the Northwestern states by the assurance that whatever may be the result of the war, the free navigation and control of the Mississippi river will be secured at all events." *Ibid.*, 209–11.

[2] *Ibid.*, 213.

Similar resolutions, so like each other as to suggest a common origin, were passed by at least fifteen other counties of Indiana in January, February, and March, 1863.[1] On the third of January, 1863 Morton telegraphed Secretary Stanton that he was advised that a joint resolution would be passed by the legislature acknowledging the Confederacy and urging the Northwest to dissolve all relations with New England; and the Republican senators, believing that some such resolutions would be offered, broke the quorum by absenting themselves.[2]

Emboldened by the Democratic success at the fall election, although he himself had failed of reëlection, Vallandigham made an impassioned speech in the House on January 14, 1863, said to have been "the greatest speech of his whole life of opposition" and to have been "extensively circulated both in this country and Europe." In it he said: "You can never subdue the seceded States. Two years of fearful experience have taught you that. Why carry on this war? If you persist, it can only end in final separation between the North and the South. And, in that case, believe it now, as you did not my former warnings, *the whole Northwest will go with the South.*"[3]

After his term expired, he traveled about the state of Ohio, making bitter and vindictive speeches against the administration, advising people not to pay their taxes, and inciting men to resist the draft and the arrest of deserters, by force of arms if necessary. His exhortations were followed by organized and armed resistance to the provost marshals in Noble and Holmes counties. Two companies of the 115th Ohio, with ten days' rations and forty rounds of ammunition, were required to suppress the

[1] *Ibid.*, 382–83.
[2] *Ibid.*, 213–14.
[3] Randall and Ryan, *History of Ohio*, IV, 209–10.

uprising in Noble County, and in Holmes County the rioters, 1,000 strong with four howitzers in a fortified camp, resisted a veteran regiment until it was almost on them and several had been seriously wounded.[1]

On April 13, 1863, General Burnside, then commander of the Department of the Ohio, issued General Order No. 38, warning all persons against treasonable practices, and particularly against "Acts for the benefit of the enemies of our country," and adding: "The habit of declaring sympathy for the enemy will not be allowed in this department. Persons committing such offenses will be at once arrested, with a view to being tried as above stated, or *sent beyond our lines into the lines of their friends.*"[2]

On May 1, at Mt. Vernon, Ohio, Vallandigham denounced Order No. 38, defied the authorities to attempt to execute it, and advised forcible resistance to the draft. He was arrested at Dayton on May 5, tried before a military commission at Cincinnati, convicted, and sentenced to close confinement in Fort Warren, Boston Harbor, "there to be kept during the continuance of the war." Yielding to a general protest against the arrest and trial of civilians by a military commission in a loyal state where the courts were open and the course of justice unobstructed, Lincoln commuted the sentence to banishment beyond our military lines, and on May 25, Vallandigham was conveyed within the picket lines of Bragg's army and left there.[3]

The Unionists were generally appeased by this humorous way of making the "punishment fit the crime"

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[1] *Ibid.*, 215–27; Cox, *Military Reminiscences*, I, 245–50; Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, VII, 328–54.

[2] *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, ser. 1, XXIII, pt. 2, 237.

[3] Cox, *Military Reminiscences*, I 458–63; Randall and Ryan, *History of Ohio*, IV, 215–27; James F. Rhodes, *History of the United States* * * * (New York, 1893–1906), IV, 245–50; Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, VII, 328–54.

which, it appears from Order No. 38, was not original with Lincoln, and forgot or forgave the irregular mode of prosecution. Its chief interest in connection with this paper consists in the glimpse which it affords us of what was still in the minds of many southern leaders, and in the new direction which it gave to Vallandigham's activities. General Beauregard wrote to a friend in Mobile, May 26, 1863 that "Lee [should] act on the defensive, and send to Bragg 30,000 men for him to take the offensive with at once; let him (or whoever is put in his place) destroy or capture (as it is done in Europe) Rosecrans' army; then march into Kentucky, raise 30,000 men more there and in Tennessee; then get into Ohio, and call upon the friends of Vallandigham to rise for his defense and support; then call upon Indiana, Illinois and Missouri to throw off the yoke of the accursed Yankee nation; then upon the whole Northwest to join in the movement, *form a Confederacy of their own, and join us by a treaty of alliance, defensive and offensive.* What would then become of the Northeast? How long would it take us to bring it back to its senses?"[1]

Vallandigham was courteously treated by the Confederate authorities, had a conference with the leading men, the purport of which was not made public at the time,[2] and then was assisted in running the blockade and making his way to Canada by way of Bermuda and Halifax. His nomination on June 11 as the Democratic candidate for governor of Ohio gave him additional prestige, and the issue to be fought out in Ohio during the summer and fall of 1863 was of vital importance to the

[1] *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, ser. 1, XIV, 955.

[2] John Jones, *Rebel War Clerk's Diary at the Confederate States Capital* (Philadelphia, 1866), I, 357 says that he "saw the memorandum of Mr. Ould, of the conversation held with Mr. Vallandigham, for file in the archives. He says if we *can only hold out this year* that the peace party of the North would sweep the Lincoln dynasty out of political existence."

southern Confederacy. As a conspicuous "victim of military despotism," Vallandigham made an ideal candidate for opponents of the administration, but every one at all familiar with his record knew that his election meant not only full consent to the secession of the southern states, but also immediate and persistent efforts to detach the Northwest from the Union and ally it with the South. The United States was to become but a memory; and the great Northwest was to prefer an alliance with a slave power to one with the merchants and manufacturers, the wealth and the culture, of the East. It was not a pleasant outlook for those who loved their country. The election was hotly—one might truthfully say fiercely—contested; the ablest speakers on both sides took part in the campaign; the vote was the largest ever polled in Ohio up to that time, and the result most decisive. The fall of Vicksburg and the defeat of Lee, "the invincible," at Gettysburg on July 4, contributed greatly to restore confidence in the ultimate success of the Union, and the cavalry raid of John Morgan through southern Ohio brought home to all the danger of allowing so warlike and aggressive a people to establish itself as an independent nation just across the Ohio. Vallandigham received but 187,728 votes out of a total of 476,554.[1]

Ohio could not be carried out of the Union by consent of the voters. The crisis was past. The common saying, "As goes Ohio, so goes the Union," received fresh confirmation. But the efforts to array the Northwestern states against the East and take them out of the Union did not end with this election.

Early in 1863, as a result of independent investigations, Governor Morton in Indiana, Governor Yates in Illinois,

[1] This campaign has been treated so fully in all histories of the period that I need not cite any authorities for my brief statement.

and Governor Kirkwood and Senator Grimes in Iowa discovered that secret societies were organized in the several states and in Kentucky and Missouri, having for their main objects opposition to the war and aid to the Confederates. Their origin is traced to "The American Knights," a southern order of which General Beauregard and other southern officers were conspicuous leaders. The northern "lodges" or "temples" at first bore the same name, but were afterwards known as "Knights of the Golden Circle," "The Order of the Star," "Sons of '76," or "Sons of Liberty." They changed their names to suit the exigencies of the time, much as fugitives from justice assume an *alias*. They discouraged enlistments and encouraged desertion; they protected deserters and obstructed provost marshals in the performance of their duties; they resisted the draft and they conspired to overthrow the state governments; they sent information to the southern armies and smuggled medicines, supplies, arms, and ammunition through the lines. They formed military companies which drilled stealthily and provided themselves with horses, guns, and pistols.[1]

Governor Yates wrote, on April 3, 1863, that they were getting ready for resistance to the government and that it would be unsafe to begin the draft without troops to maintain order. There was a draft riot at Danville, Illinois, in August, 1863.[2] Senator Grimes wrote, April 20, 1863, "they are organized for insurrection and nothing else."[3] Governor Morton, with the aid of General Carrington, kept close watch on their movements in Indiana. Commenting on his activity, the Indianapolis *Sentinel* declared in February, 1863 that there was no hope of

[1] Rhodes, *History of the United States*, V, 317–19.

[2] *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, ser. 3, III, 116, 722, 1005, 1008, 1047.

[3] *Ibid.*, 124.

ultimate success. "When Republicans organized to resist the formation of a Northwestern Confederacy it was evident that there was danger of another revolution more alarming even than the rebellion."[1]

On May 23, 1863 a Democratic mass meeting was held in Indianapolis to which 10,000 or 12,000 persons came, of whom "no less than three thousand were armed." Prompt steps were taken by the authorities for preventing trouble. Policemen accompanied by a small body of soldiers stopped trains outside of Indianapolis and disarmed the passengers. Others were arrested in Indianapolis and taken to the police court charged with carrying concealed weapons. "In all, about 500 loaded revolvers were taken from those who attended the meeting."[2]

When General John Morgan crossed into Indiana on his famous raid he had every reason to believe that he would receive substantial aid from the Indiana "lodges" which were very numerous in southern Indiana, but hardly a man joined his ranks and the raid was converted into a race for the fords of the Ohio.[3] Most people inferred from this that while the "Knights" might covet big titles and wear swords and pistols they would not fight; but their excuse was that while there was hope of carrying the elections it was better to work in secret.

These societies were scattered through other states, Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, but were not numerous enough to excite so much apprehension as in Indiana and Illinois.[4]

After the fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson, Governor

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[1] Foulke, *Life of Morton*, I, 243.

[2] *Ibid.*, 273–77.

[3] *Ibid.*, 284, 386; Rhodes, *History of the United States*, V, 313–17.

[4] Milwaukee, though, was reported as "disloyal beyond a doubt," and it was said "that it would be foolhardiness to attempt a draft without protection," and a similar report came from St. Paul. *Id.*, IV, 534, 543–74.

Morton, addressing an audience at Cincinnati, said: "The great event of the war, and one which is of special importance to the city of Cincinnati, has transpired--the opening of the Mississippi river. It is the beginning of the end * * *."[1]

But the end was not yet. Chickamauga and the siege of Chattanooga followed in September and the Union forces were unsuccessful in most of their operations in January, February, March, and April, 1864. The Red River expedition under General Banks was especially disastrous, and again the cry was raised, "You never can defeat the South." There was a feeling, both in the North and in the South, that the troops of the Northwest were about the only ones that had accomplished anything, and this stimulated in the South, a fresh discussion of the feasibility of sending commissioners to the states of the Northwest to negotiate for peace and an alliance with them.

But the Richmond *Enquirer*, which had entertained the idea in 1862, now opposed it. On March 30, 1864 it advocated the election of "Our Best Friend--Abe Lincoln," because it would "Effectually and forever close the door against all kinds of reconstruction; cutting off the Northwestern States just as effectually as the Northeastern. This is a most desirable object." On April 1, 1864, under the caption "That North-west Again!" the editor said:

> The Selma "Mississippian" continues terribly exercised about the rejection of some alleged proposition, said to have been made by "leading anti-Lincoln men of the Northwest" some eighteen months ago * * *. We may be allowed to say that no such proposition, formal or informal, was ever made to the Government of the Confederate States. * * * If the "political revolution in the "North-west," which the "Mississippian" alleges that the "Enquirer" "arrested," had for its object the reconstruction of the old Union, *under any form whatever*, * * * we rejoice that our efforts have been crowned with success.

[1] Foulke, *Life of Morton*, I, 285.

By whom was the "Mississippian" driven from its home? What States furnished the troops that ravished, desolated and destroyed Mississippi? What soldiers burnt Jackson * * * and inflicted all manner of injury and insult upon all classes? *The Northwest.* * * * rather than reconstruct under any shape or form, with any part or parcel of our despised and despicable enemies, Virginia will continue the fight. She will know them only as *foreigners.*

The Confederate government evidently thought differently, for Capt. Thomas H. Hines of the Ninth Kentucky Cavalry, who had been with Morgan in his raid through Indiana and Ohio, was sent to Canada in March, 1864 to confer with Jacob Thompson, ex-secretary of the interior in Buchanan's cabinet, who was then acting as "Special Commissioner of the Confederate States in Canada." Thompson was liberally supplied with funds and was to assist Hines in carrying out any plans he might devise to release Confederate prisoners confined on Johnson's Island, Ohio, and in camps near Columbus, Indianapolis, Chicago, Springfield, Illinois, and Rock Island. With the aid of the "Sons of Liberty" these released prisoners were to overthrow the governments of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and establish a northwestern confederacy. Hines was sent to Windsor, opposite Detroit, to confer with Vallandigham, who had been elected Supreme Grand Commander of the Order. Vallandigham claimed that the Order had enrolled 84,000 men in Illinois, 50,000 in Indiana, 40,000 in Ohio, and lesser forces in other states, amounting altogether to 300,000 men, and that they were thoroughly organized with "major generals" for each state, "brigadier generals" for each county, etc. When properly armed and equipped they would be ready to act with any force that might be sent to aid and direct them. Arrangements were made with Thompson for purchasing and shipping arms and ammu-

nition to the various organizations, and representatives of the Order were supplied with funds by Thompson.

Captain Hines says that subsequent investigations fully confirmed all that Vallandigham had claimed with reference to the numbers and purpose of this secret organization but, as events proved, they lacked the "unflinching nerve" necessary for success. July 20 was the date first fixed for the uprising and release of prisoners in Illinois and Indiana. At the suggestion of numbers of the Order, however, the date was changed to August 22, to enable Confederate forces to move into Kentucky and Missouri and thus occupy the attention of the Federal troops stationed in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and this date was again changed to August 29, on which day the Democratic national convention would meet at Chicago. It was thought that the "Knights," or "Sons," could concentrate in Chicago on that date without attracting attention, and that the prisoners at Camp Douglas, over 5,000 in number, could easily be released and armed and that they then, with the aid of the "Knights," or "Sons," could easily set at liberty the 7,000 prisoners confined at Springfield and overpower any forces of the United States in Illinois. The success of this uprising would embolden the Indiana men, and the movement would spread until the whole Northwest would become involved. If Union troops were withdrawn from the front to put down the insurrection, the Confederate armies in the field would press forward and, crossing the Ohio, aid in the establishment of the new northwestern confederacy. On the appointed day Captain Hines, with some sixty Confederate officers of experience and ability, was in Chicago ready for action, but the "Knights" were too few in number and too poor in spirit to justify action. There were evidences that some of the men were being closely

watched by government detectives and the best thing to do was to break up and get out of Chicago as speedily and quietly as possible. Thus failed the most promising enterprise for establishing a northwestern confederacy by armed insurrection.[1]

After the fall of Atlanta General Beauregard was again placed in command of the Western Department of the Confederacy, although Hood retained field command of the army. Both knew that President Davis was opposed to another invasion of Tennessee and Kentucky and that he thought the army ought to oppose, follow, or cut across and get ahead of Sherman's army.[2] Yet, obsessed with the old idea that thousands of recruits in Tennessee and Kentucky were only waiting for an opportunity to join the Confederate army, and that a movement north would result in the long-talked-of rising in the Northwest, Beauregard authorized Hood's ill-starred movement into Tennessee. His army was repulsed at Franklin with heavy losses in killed and wounded and still heavier loss in *morale*, and was completely shattered at Nashville.

[1] The source for most of this information is Benn Pitman's stenographic notes of the treason trials at Indianapolis in the fall of 1864, published at Cincinnati in a volume of 340 pages, double column, very fine print. Those who do not care to go through this mass of question and answer, will find most of the facts stated in a report of Judge Advocate General Holt to the secretary of war, dated Oct. 8, 1864. Foulke, *Life of Morton*, I, 385–432, gives a good summary of the trials. Senator Morton himself gave an excellent account of the movement in a speech in the United States Senate, May 4, 1876. Other very readable accounts may be found in Rhodes, *History of the United States*, V, 320–38; Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, VIII, 1–27; Randall and Ryan, *History of Ohio*, IV, 262–78. To round out the detailed account persons interested should also read Jacob Thompson's reports to the Confederate secretary of war, Felix G. Stidger, *Treason History of the Sons of Liberty, formerly Circle of Honor, succeeded by Knights of the Golden Circle, afterward Order of American Knights* * * *(Chicago, 1903), and Capt. Hines' very interesting account of the northwestern confederacy published in the *Southern Bivouac* (Louisville, Ky.), II, nos. 7, 8, 9, and 11. It was as thrilling an episode as ever came to naught.

[2] Davis, *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, II, 566–70; John B. Hood, *Advance and Retreat* * * * (Philadelphia, 1880), 278 *et seq.*

The dream of a northwestern confederacy was effectually dispelled and soon the southern Confederacy ceased to be.

Many things contributed during the war to strengthen the Union feeling in the Northwest. While the South was being depleted of its manhood the Northwest was filling up with a fresh, virile, enterprising, and industrious class of immigrants from the eastern states, from Canada, and from Great Britain, Germany, Sweden, and Norway. They loved freedom, were inured to labor, and had an instinctive aversion to slavery and all its concomitants. Markets were found in the East for all the West could produce, and the southern markets were hardly missed after the first year of the war. When actually deprived of the Mississippi navigation and commerce, the people of the Northwest found they were not so badly off as they had anticipated. Of the products of the South, cotton was the only one the want of which was seriously felt. It was found that tobacco could be raised in the northern states and fine crops of good quality were raised in Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and southern Ohio before the war closed. Farmers in Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin experimented with it in 1864 and 1865, and were soon able to supply the market with a good article.

One of the results of the war was that the South learned to raise its own foodstuffs and the North learned to raise its own luxuries. Whisky and tobacco were esteemed such, fifty years ago. Existing railroad lines were extended to and through the West, new lines were built, and old ones consolidated, and railroad transportation to the seaboard was cheapened and expedited until river and lake transportation were hardly thought of as essential or even important. Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois were fairly gridironed with railroads, and the iron tracks—soon to be converted into steel—stretched out in every direction

from Chicago, binding the great Northwest together with bonds more stable than water and providing all the facilities for travel and commerce which the inhabitants could reasonably desire. After the close of the war the river trade between the chief cities of the Ohio Valley and the upper Mississippi and the Gulf states was revived and large fleets of steamers plied the running waters for a time; but gradually this traffic declined. Old steamboats were allowed to sink, burn up, or rot on the sand bars and along the shores, and their places were not supplied. The steamboat landings at Cincinnati and St. Louis, which formerly were wont to be lined with palatial steamers, were almost deserted in the seventies and the Mississippi River ceased to be of commercial importance, except for the transportation of coal. If all these things had been foreseen in 1861, the Northwest might not have deemed the Union worth preserving and might not have put forth that tremendous and heroic effort, without which secession would doubtless have become an accomplished fact. Is it difficult to believe that all these events were guided and controlled by an unseen Power with a view to the beneficient results which all now appreciate and enjoy?

The passions which preceded and immediately followed the Civil War have died out. The soldiers who fought the battles for and against disunion acquired new respect for each other. The breaking up of the United States into a number of provincial confederacies, tormented by sectional jealousy and disturbed by perpetual intrigues and threats of war, is no longer a possibility. State pride, still great, has made room for national pride, and all is well with the Republic.

Mary Elizabeth Mears: "Nellie Wildwood"

By Publius V. Lawson

Several years ago I was selected by C. F. Cooper & Company of Chicago as editor in chief of a history of Fond du Lac County, and had commenced to gather material when other fields attracted the attention of the publishers and the work was abandoned. For that work Miss Mary Mears had furnished the recollections of her mother, Mary Elizabeth Mears, given below, written by Mrs. Mears in her seventy-second year as a remembrance to her family of three talented girls. During her long life she had written a great number of poems and prose articles, which were published in the press of the State and elsewhere under the nom de plume, Nellie Wildwood When she gave up housekeeping in Oshkosh she divided the clippings she had saved into three bundles and gave them into the keeping of her three daughters.

In his article on "Early Wisconsin Imprints"[1] Henry E. Legler says: "The first Wisconsin book of verse was published at Fond du Lac in 1860. It was a pamphlet of 57

[1] Wisconsin Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 1903, 121. An earlier book of verse by a Wisconsin author is Elbert Herring Smith's *Makataimeshekiakiak; or Black Hawk, and Scenes in the West. A National Poem in Six Cantos.* The copy of this work in the Wisconsin Historical library was published at New York in 1848, and there is nothing to indicate that this is not the first edition. According to the recollections of Henry W. Bleyer, veteran Milwaukee journalist, however, the book was first printed serially in Milwaukee, the author's home. If Mr. Bleyer's recollection is correct Smith's work antedates that of Mrs. Mears as the first Wisconsin book of verse by at least a dozen years.

pages, by Mrs. Elizabeth Farnsworth Mears. The title was as follows: *Voyage of Pere Marquette, and Romance of Charles de Langlade, or, the Indian Queen, An Historical Poem of the 17th and 18th Centuries.*

Mary Elizabeth Farnsworth was born in Groton, Massachusetts, in 1830. She married John H. Mears, and died at the age of seventy-seven, in November, 1907, at the home of her daughter, Louise M. Fargo of Lake Mills, Wisconsin, and was buried in Riverside Cemetery at Oshkosh. Her married life was mostly passed in Oshkosh where all her children were born and passed their childhood and youth. In December, 1908 I received from Mary Mears the following concerning her mother:

I am sending you what details I can about the life of our mother. The genealogy of the Farnsworth Family which I enclose[1] may prove of some assistance, and the paper entitled "Recollections" was written by my mother in her seventy-second year. It is a quaint account of her childhood, the crossing of the country in those early days, and the final settling of the family in Wisconsin. While it gives briefly the story of her life in the bosom of her family, it tells nothing of her later experiences as a writer. From the examples of her writing which we have in our possession she appears eager, ambitious, and gifted to an unusual degree. Her play of "Black Hawk" which had a run of three weeks in Madison, is really remarkable in that it is truly dramatic and the characters essentially picturesque. She was the author of many fugitive poems and stories which appear in editions of the early newspapers of Wisconsin. But she is best known as the author of the play just mentioned and of the long poem, *Voyage of Pere Marquette, and Romance of Charles de Langlade, or the Indian Queen.* This poem is connected with the early history of Wisconsin, and quite aside from its literary merit, is really valuable as an historical record. I remember often hearing her relate how extensive was her study of all the legends and history connected with the subjects she chose, before she wrote the poem. Had I no other evidence of her gift than these chance clippings which I have in my possession, I would have no hesitation in saying of

[1] We omit to publish the genealogical sketch referred to, since it may be found in much fuller detail in Moses F. Farnsworth (compiler), *Farnsworth Memorial, Being a Record of Matthias Farnsworth and His Descendants in America* (Manti, Utah, 1897).

her work that it is picturesque, fresh, and often exceedingly quaint. She had the great gift of enthusiasm and her poem written at the time when the Atlantic cable was first laid and the first message received by the new land from the old—is a cry of supreme exultation. I have not this poem in my possession—if I had it, I would send it to you. The faults of my mother's writing are those of the period, but this very sentimentality adds to the quaintness of her work now. She was well known throughout the State and many poems were addressed to her. The well known song, popular in bye gone days, "When the birds shall return, Nelly Wildwood," was written to her. I should take pleasure in furnishing you with an early picture of my mother and also a photograph of a bas-relief portrait of her which my sister, Helen Farnsworth Mears, the sculptor, has just completed. It was finished the year of her death, and shows her just as she was in these later years. The eager intelligence and grace of the young portrait of her is even intensified in her old age. Age came to her but it only rendered her more lovely. She has been called "a vanishing type."

I have written you thus frankly of my mother, striving to give you those details of her career and the attributes of her personality which seem to me most necessary for record. Out of this mass of material, I hope you may find what you need for your work.

A brief sketch of the activities of the members of her family will not be out of place here.

Louise M. Mears was married to Frank B. Fargo of Lake Mills, Wisconsin. Before her marriage she illustrated a number of books, the most notable of which was *The Land of Nod*, by Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

Helen Farnsworth Mears was born and passed her youth at Oshkosh, and obtained her education in the same city. Her first important work in her chosen profession of sculpture was the plaster-cast model of the "Genius of Wisconsin" for the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1892, for which she was given the $500 prize offered by the Wisconsin women's clubs for the best piece of art exhibited at the Fair by a Wisconsin woman. This model was afterward cut in marble, and it stood in the rotunda of the old capitol at Madison for many years, and now stands in the main corridor of the new capitol.

VOYAGE OF PERE MARQUETTE,

AND

Romance of Charles De Langlade,

OR,

THE INDIAN QUEEN.

AN HISTORICAL POEM OF THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES

BY NELLIE WILDWOOD.

(Mrs. Eliz. Farnsworth Mears.)

FOND DU LAC:

WRITTEN AND PUBLISHED EXPRESSLY FOR HARRISON & STEVENSON'S ART UNION.

1860

TITLE-PAGE OF MRS. MEARS'S FIRST BOOK OF VERSE

Congress gave Miss Mears the commission for the statue of Frances E. Willard which stands in the hall of fame in the national capitol. It is the only representative of womankind among so many celebrated men, and a statue of a woman by a woman, both of whom passed all their childhood and obtained their education in our State.[1] Miss Mears designed the bust of George Rogers Clark, presented to the public library of Milwaukee by the Sons and Daughters of the Revolution. For the St. Louis Exposition she designed the legendary study of life, an ideal subject, a large bas-relief wall fountain fourteen feet high, which was given a conspicuous place and awarded a medal.

Miss Mears studied with Lorado Taft in Chicago, then in the art schools of New York and ateliers of Paris and Rome. For several years she was a student and assistant to Augustus Saint Gaudens. In Paris she won several medals, exhibited in the salon, and worked in the private atelier of Saint Gaudens, who was then executing some commissions abroad. In 1898 she established her studio in New York where she died, February 17, 1916.

Mary Mears has devoted her talents and activities to writing fiction. She wrote a short review of her work in a letter to Belle Blend, then with the Milwaukee *Sentinel*, which was published in that journal, July 28, 1907, as follows:

I was expected to write and I wrote, principally, I think in the first place, because my mother before me had written. My parents considered that I had a picturesque and original way of using words, and when I was a little girl, I was set at story writing as my sister, Helen,

[1] This statue was authorized by Congress in 1898. The commission was given to Helen Farnsworth Mears, who designed the statue from a number of photographs. It was unveiled in February, 1905. A full-page half tone of the statue, accompanied by a brief historical sketch, is published in *Harper's Weekly*, Feb. 25, 1905.

was set at modeling, as our elder sister, Louise, was set at drawing. Our elder sister illustrated books while still young. Helen modeled a bust while she was still a child in short dresses, and I wrote all but the five concluding chapters of my first book, "Emma Lou—Her Book," between the ages of 13 and 17, while I was still a schoolgirl. Later when the book was published by Henry Holt, I added, at their suggestion, the last five chapters which make it a love story.

During the progress of "Emma Lou" I wrote many short tales. I wrote for a sensational paper in Chicago that paid me, as I remember, about $4.00 for a newspaper page of the finest print. My stories were as sensational as the imagination of seventeen years could produce. I remember one was called "His Strange Eyes"—it closed with the hero's leaping from a housetop into the darkness of night. My first short story to meet with marked success was published in *Harper's Bazaar*. Afterwards I published it in the leading magazines. My best short story appeared in *Harper's Magazine* in 1900. It is entitled "Across the Bridges." It was written immediately after my return from Europe.

The achievement that marked my efforts was at times easy, and at other times difficult. My first book, "Emma Lou," I wrote with no conscious effort, as a child plays. The short stories were more difficult, for I sought constantly to use the fewest words possible in telling the tales. It seems to me now that I put very little of myself into them. They are, with the exception of two or three, objective studies. "The Breath of the Runners," I believe, is the most individual work I have done, therefore I consider it a greater achievement than anything else.

RECOLLECTIONS OF MARY ELIZABETH MEARS

(Written in 1903)

My earliest recollections are of going to school, held firmly by the hand. I was in charge of the teacher and to reach the red schoolhouse we had to climb a high hill. The teacher's little nephew was on her other side. He was a few months older than I, but we were both babies, being less than three years old. My only recollection of that time is of this little boy's being allowed to escort me home one day, the few rods beyond where the teacher lived. Our house was fenced from the road and had a ditch drain

skirting the road. Before the gate was a bridge. For some reason we thought it would be best to cut across lots and climb the fence to reach our house. I essayed, with my small escort's help, to cross the ditch, which was then full of water. Into this water I fell, flat on my back, and being very fat I "stuck." The wails we both set up brought my frightened mother to the rescue. Never shall I forget the awful sensations of that disaster.

I know I must always have gone to Sunday school, for my parents were strict churchgoers, but my first impression of what life really meant and of its responsibilities and duties came one day when my father had gone to a funeral. We children were playing in an old barn or woodshed, where there was a large carpenter's workbench under which the floor was of smooth, black earth. We were engaged in driving all the nails we could find in patterns into this soft earth. We none of us had a doubt that this disposition of the nails was all right but suddenly a man on horseback darkened the door and seeing what we were doing began chiding us severely on the enormity of our offense. He was a perfect stranger to anybody belonging to us, and had merely come to see our father on business. Nevertheless we listened to him with all our ears, and fear gradually filled our young hearts. He spoke of our awful sinfulness generally, of the dire necessity of our always being good or God would heap woeful penalties upon our heads. Finally he pictured graphically the fire and brimstone which would be our element in the future state. He seemed on his black horse like some terrifying messenger of warning. I was thrown into childish hysterics, which my mother, when she returned, was long in comforting. I know she had to take me into her bed that night and it was very late when my sobs ceased, and even after sleep came I could not forget. Nor have I forgotten now.

From my second until shortly after my sixth birthday the red schoolhouse (schoolhouse number two it was called) was a mecca to me. I believe I studied well and learned easily for I received a card when I was two and a half years old, testifying to the fact that I had learned my alphabet at that age. Before my seventh birthday my father concluded to sell the old homestead, which had been left him by his father, Sampson Farnsworth. I remember hearing that this grandfather of mine had married my grandmother in his latter years, being at the time the father of a large family of children, but my father, Matthias, was the only child of this second marriage. Certain things come back to me vaguely, but young as I was, I appreciated that we were leaving the place connected closely with our blood for generations past, and I remember distinctly how wrought up was my childish mind, when with two brothers and a sister older than myself and our father and mother and also a young man who was going west with us to share our fortunes, we took the stage at the old door. I was the only one of the family ever destined to see the place again with its wide granite doorstone and the enormous willow waving its graceful branches to us as if in farewell.

From Groton with its low peaceful hills, its old Inn and its church spires, from Groton where slept so many of our name, we went to Boston or to Providence where we took the cars for a few hours, but here my memory fails. The only impression left upon my mind is one of strangeness. The next that I remember was our being on a boat—a canal boat which was attached to a pair of horses by long cables. The horses were driven along the bank by a man who went beside them on foot, and dragged the boat with its load of passengers, at no very great speed, as may be imagined. I remember we used often to

go on shore for various reasons, but always on our return we found our boat-home no farther away than an easy walk. Indeed, I seem to remember that there was much talk of a "break" on the canal, and that we were days and days too long in reaching our destination. But, by devious ways, I distinctly remember our arriving at the city of Detroit, where my mother, worn out with the adventure, declared that she was tired of the ways of locomotion we had tried so far, so my father decided on purchasing a team of horses and an emigrant wagon large enough to contain not only ourselves but our goods and chattels.

How we children enjoyed those days of travel through a virgin country and untrodden forests where now and then a little clearing with a log cabin appeared: These were the homes of people who had preceded us from the eastern states. We stopped where night overtook us, sometimes traveling hours over corduroy roads, which were made by the cut trees which lay in lines just as they fell, in order to reach the cabin of a settler before night. These settlers always generously shared with us what they had, and how we children enjoyed the warm greetings of the lonely families, the ample suppers, the babble and confusion attendant upon our arrival. Our mothers talked rapidly together as if they were lifelong friends, and we children at once became acquainted with the boys and girls in these wayside cabins. We must have carried a great many provisions with us, for there was always much private conversation, our mother taking the women of the house aside, and what we ate was always much the same as we had when by ourselves, and there were always dishes which we children especially liked as well as the small people of the other family.

Sometimes we stopped for a day or two. There was plenty of game in the forest or "oak openings" and as

my father was an enthusiastic hunter, when he found a congenial spirit, it was easy to persuade him that we all needed rest. He was an ardent bee hunter also, and understood perfectly the habits of the busy creatures. One day, I remember, he noticed near the cabin where we were stopping that bees were humming around the door. It was second nature for him to watch them and he noticed them continually flying away and returning at very short intervals, always taking the same direction. He procured some sugar and, producing the anise-seed extract, a bottle of which he always carried in his pocket, he wet the sugar with it and carried it in the direction they went. He deposited it on a log or stump and lay down a little distance away. Soon it attracted the attention of the bees. They would crawl over it a few seconds, then fly off, and after they had gone he would carry it in the direction they had taken and again deposit it. They would return, again forsake it, and again he would follow as they led until very soon he located the "bee tree," for these intelligent little creatures store their honey in the hollow trunk of a decayed tree. This "bee tree," of course, he marked with the little hatchet the hunter always carries. Then he returned hastily to the cabin, to which he found his way readily as he had blazed his way as he went. He whispered something to the man of the house and they went out together. Now my father, when he saw the bees working at the flowers, had told his host what he expected to find, but he must go alone, he insisted, for a bee hunter must be very quiet on their trail. When, however, the tree was located, the man could be of assistance. And what rejoicings when we saw them returning with the treasure. Pans and pails were put in requisition to hold the well-filled comb which they had chopped the tree down to get, with great precautions

against being stung. But even so many of the bees followed them, for these little creatures resent bitterly their domain being intruded upon and fight furiously to protect their hoarded sweets. So, as I say, many of them followed my father to the cabin, and loud screams from a little barefooted boy told that one blow had been struck by the fallen foe. It can scarcely be understood in these days what excitement and pleasure this find of honey brought to the lonely household; how pleased they were, for it was no easy thing getting delicacies then; they had to journey miles to get the necessary provisions, and then what care to make the stores last as long as possible!

The charm of this journey is still with me. The early start in the morning when the dew lay on the grass and the trees, the heartfelt goodbyes to the old-new friends, then the weary plodding of the horses under the midday sun, and, finally the gathering of the purple evenings when the air was sweet with bird calls, and when we slept either in the wagon in sound of the horses cropping grass, or, as has been related, in the home of some settler.

When we reached Chicago I remember that we were "sloughed," as it was termed, in the principal street. This was in 1837 and the fact has always been related with gusto by each member of the family, inasmuch as another team had to be hitched in front of our own to get us out of the deep mudhole into which we had sunk. From Chicago we continued to our destination which was Fox River, Illinois, a point equally distant (four miles) from what were the cities of St. Charles on one side and Elgin on the other.

Here my father bought a farm under very little cultivation, on which there was a log cabin with a high chimney built of sticks and filled up between with the mud of the

country. And here began our life as pioneers—my mother, a delicately nurtured woman, unused to hardships and privations, and my father fresh from his small farm and orchard in the town of Groton, Massachusetts. What life meant to them can be imagined. Our first days in the log cabin are still fresh in my mind. It was built on a slope of ground on the bank of the wide, noble Fox River, known now the world over, and on the opposite bank was a dense forest coming almost to the waters' edge. Our house was over two miles from any human habitation. The nearest town was four miles distant. but no supplies, to any amount, could be obtained nearer than Chicago. Enough supplies for present use we had brought along, but we needed a cow at once. One had been heard of as for sale some four or five miles away. A man of whom we had stopped to inquire the way said that he had heard that a band of Indians were camping at "Cold Spring," which was on the farm quite near the cabin my father had bought. But as nothing was seen of them, after a day or two, the necessity of milk being great, it was decided that my father and this man should take the horses and start early in the morning and return in time for breakfast. Therefore, my mother kept it warm for them. I remember she was just stooping over the "bake kettle" (a wide fireplace took up one side of the cabin and held all the cooking possibilities) when suddenly the six-paned window was darkened and the face of an Indian squaw, which just fitted into the space where one pane was missing, looked in upon us. She gazed steadily, and my brother and myself gave one scream and threw ourselves upon our mother, almost pitching her into the fire. I suppose the face was instantly withdrawn, for we saw nothing of Indians that day. But we all huddled together in affright until my father and Andrew Hubbard

returned, triumphantly leading the cow. After that we became acquainted with the Indians, who were very friendly, bringing up presents of wild game and borrowing my father's guns which they knew how to use, though most of the warriors carried bows and arrows, with which they were expert marksmen.

What wonderful possibilities those days held for a man who loved to bring down big game! I saw my father stand on the bank of the river and shoot a magnificent deer which had come down to the opposite bank to drink. He came swiftly with branching antlers held high, pushing his way among the trees, emerged on the narrow strip of sand and stooped to drink, when the fatal bullet laid his graceful form low. Never shall I forget the way he turned, ran fleetly with his head still up, then stumbled and fell dying. My agony was great and my father, indeed, shared it. He said he had not dreamed of hitting game at such a long distance, but the hunter's desire to try was too strong for him. So our days were filled with the excitement of the pioneer's life. There were the strange friendships with the Indians, the beads given me one day by an old squaw, the strange sight of seeing an Indian clothed only in a high hat, otherwise stark naked, riding like the wind on a horse through the forest—the things that made us laugh and that made us weep, the things that sometimes froze our blood with apprehension.

I recall one incident of the winter season that will always stand out in my mind as fraught with living terrors. The spring was approaching and my father was anxious to start his sugar camp as soon as possible. To do this he would enter the woods on the opposite bank, clear a space and set up his kettles over fires. There was much talk as to whether the sap had yet started in the maple trees, and finally one mild day my father with another

man decided to cross the river and examine them. Before the house the river was a clear blue expanse quite free from ice. We had heard rumors that above us, at the bend, the ice was breaking up, but the sun shone so mildly, the river looked so innocent from our door, that my father decided to go across and make his investigation. He did so, taking a small boat. About eleven o'clock a man came running up to the house. He cried out his message: "No one must go across the river. The ice is piling up at the bend." Then he ran on. My mother immediately sent us children down to the banks, and in a few moments she joined us. Already the water in the river was overflowing the banks and the air was filled with the crashing, the grinding of mountains of ice. We stood there in agony and ever the noise grew more deafening and slowly, one by one, and they were not very large, pieces of ice began to appear. They came very swiftly, borne along by the hurrying current. Then it was we raised our voices all together: "The ice! The ice! You can't get across." My father and his companion could see us indistinctly. They knew from the sound that the ice was possibly breaking, but no messenger had warned them of immediate danger. They only thought, when they saw us on the bank, that something had happened to terrify the tiny group of mother and children. So, despite our entreaties, they took to the boat. In vain our calls, "The ice! The ice! You can't get across." The words were lost in that growing thunder of crashing ice. And they began to pole swiftly towards us with all their puny strength. Our agony, as we watched, passed all bounds. Never shall I forget the voice of the ice, the shaking of the bank, and more than all else, the look on my mother's face. Little and lone and defenseless, we all prayed as we stood, prayed as

babies and women pray with all our hearts in the words, "Save them God, save them." And on and on came the little boat, so tiny, so puny in the midst of the wide river. Suddenly with a mighty crash as though the foundations of the universe were giving way, down came the ice— a piece which filled half the river. As if by a miracle it glided back of the boat, cutting off from the two men all possibility of retreat. Then they bent all their strength. The boat glided forward, an enormous piece of ice at that instant came down on our side of the river and for an instant lodged against the bank. Quick, quick the men crawled from the boat onto this piece of ice, they ran fleetly across it, and as they jumped onto the shore, the mighty ice block continued, thundering on its course. The boat was shattered before our eyes to a million bits. And we—we stood there and we knew that God was good.

We lived only a year or two on this farm. The pioneer life was too hard for my mother. The farm was sold and we moved to St. Charles, but we did not stay there long. The schools were poor, and my brothers were growing up. Racine was looked over but no business location suited, and Fond du Lac was finally settled upon as offering facilities for the manufacture of farm machinery. And in Fond du Lac we all lived until one by one the children married.

The Watertown Railway Bond Fight

By William F. Whyte

The history of railway building and promotion in Wisconsin does not differ greatly from the history of the promotion of internal improvements in the eastern states long before our State became a member of the Federal Union. The knowledge of the disastrous results to eastern communities through their heedless and indiscreet subsidizing of highways and other semipublic enterprises prompted the framers of our State constitution to insert a provision forbidding the State to grant subsidies or to issue bonds to assist in the building of railways or other enterprises of a similar nature.

After the admission of Wisconsin to the Union immigration increased greatly. The fertile woodlands and prairies in the southern and central parts of the State attracted thousands of immigrants. Many of these coming from the East had, no doubt, personal knowledge of the financial distress from which the older communities had suffered by the indiscriminate aid given to railways and highways. With them came thousands of settlers from Northern Europe, whose strong hands and brave hearts were their sole capital in making homes for themselves in the primeval garden of Wisconsin, but who were wholly ignorant of the wiles of the promoter in whose unscrupulous grasp they were as mere babes in the woods.

Watertown Railway Bond Fight

History repeats itself and the people of our day who have been victimized through buying stock in wildcat mines, irrigated lands, and Mexican rubber plantations are the lineal descendants of those Wisconsin pioneers who, two generations ago, mortgaged their farms and bonded their cities in the mad rush to promote railways. Frederick Merk in his *Economic History of Wisconsin During the Civil War Decade*[1] gives an admirable account of the disastrous results of the farm-mortgage craze in Wisconsin between 1850 and 1857. He says that 6,000 farmers mortgaged their farms to the amount of $4,500,000 or $5,000,000, and the Wisconsin legislature passed no less than fourteen laws between 1858 and 1863 in the vain attempt to relieve the farmers of the State from the burdens which they had assumed through the wiles of promoters, who in some cases had induced their victims to mortgage their property without developing one mile of railway.

The history of the railway-bond indebtedness in Wisconsin does not possess quite the tragic features of the story of the farm mortgage. The burden of the debt fell on communities instead of individuals, and in the great majority of cases compromises with the holders of bonds relieved the municipalities of the major portion of their obligation. In one notable instance, however, a contest lasted over twenty years in the courts and finally ended in the defeat of the Shylocks who demanded their pound of flesh.

The story of the Watertown railway-bond indebtedness excited such widespread interest at the time that its narration is well worth a place in the historical records of the State. Before the fight began Watertown had, ac-

[1] Frederick Merk, *Economic History of Wisconsin during the Civil War Decade* (*Wisconsin Historical Studies*, I), chap. ix.

cording to the census of 1855, a population of approximately 8,500, which was greater than that of Madison, Janesville, or Racine. Its location was favorable, with a good water power, excellent railway facilities, and a surrounding country unsurpassed for fertility. There is no doubt that its growth was greatly retarded by the heavy incubus of public debt which hung over the city during the years when other towns with no greater advantages were forging ahead in wealth and population. Watertown acquired a certain fame through its successful contest with the bondholders, and I have been told that at one time professors in every law school in the United States cited in their lectures the famous Rees, Metcalf, and Amy cases, which were finally decided by the United States Supreme Court.[1]

The story of the bond fight must be gleaned from the files of newspapers of half a century ago, and the decisions of the United States courts. There are now very few living in the State whose personal recollections go back to the days when Watertown and its wrangles with bondholders, courts, and court officers furnished copy for the newspapers and amusement for the people fortunate enough to live outside the city. There is much interesting episodical matter, and I shall try to enliven the dry narration of legal arguments and court decisions by relating the human side of the story of the contest, "all of which I saw and a part of which I was."

That Watertown was weighed down with such an immense indebtedness for a long period of years can only be explained in one way—a lack of political ability on the part of a large portion of its citizens. The city of Jefferson, fourteen miles farther south, had an incum-

[1] I am indebted to my son Malcolm K. Whyte, a law student in the University of Wisconsin, for valuable assistance in collecting citations to the law reports.

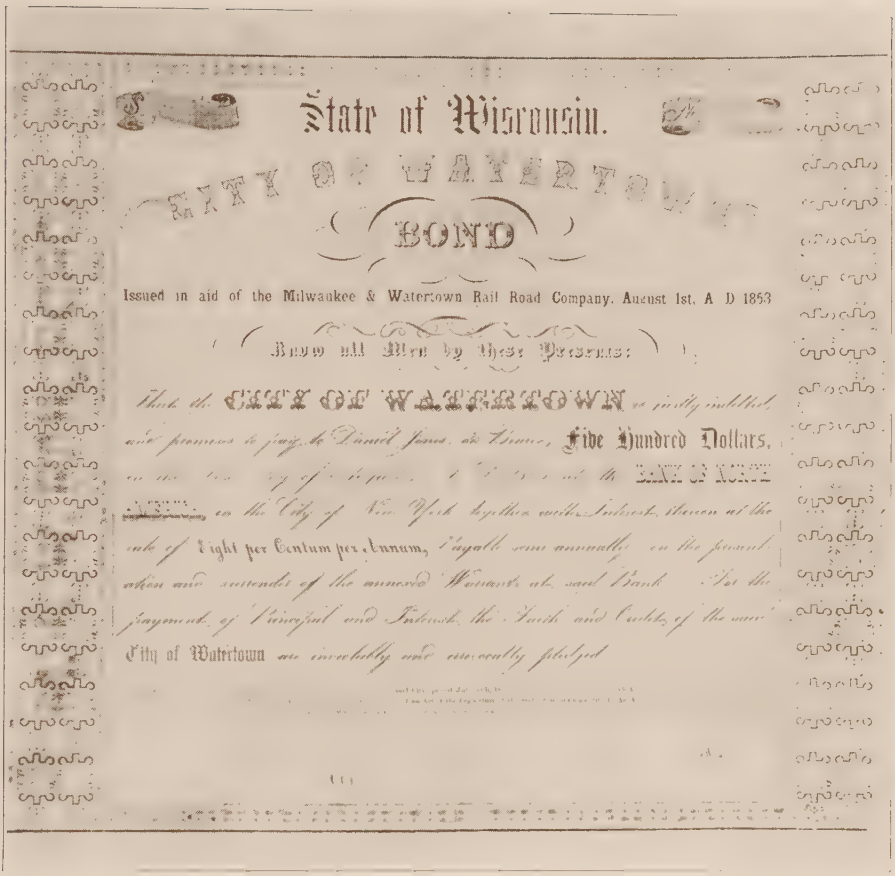
brance of $150,000 of railway-bond indebtedness which was easily compromised, and the outside world never heard of it. Perhaps the character of a few of the holders of the Watertown bonds had some bearing on the issue. They were men who, having bought up the bonds at a low price, thought they could squeeze the citizens of Watertown as some of the farm-mortgage sharpers had squeezed the farmers. The people of Watertown, however, let the opportune moment to settle with their creditors on a practical basis slip by, and nothing remained but to fight the extortionate and impossible demands of their creditors with all the weapons that legal ingenuity could devise. Fortunate it was for the city that it had citizens whose talents and shrewdness, with the assistance of the State legislature, built a legal fence around Watertown so strong that it was impervious even to the writs of the United States courts. It must be said, however, that the business men of Watertown, without regard to politics or nationality, were almost solidly in favor of compromising the debt, but their efforts were thwarted by a few pestilent demagogues, who, raising the cry of class against class, filled the minds of the more ignorant of the electorate with the suspicion that the so-called well-to-do owned the bonds and wanted the poor men to pay them. The anxiety of the wealthier and more intelligent citizens to make a settlement with the creditors of the city was attributed to selfishness. If the bonds were paid, it was believed they were to profit secretly by it, as their holdings would much more than reimburse them for their share of the extra taxation.

The first issue of the bonds was authorized by act of the legislature in March, 1853, enabling the city to lend its credit to the Milwaukee & Watertown Railway. On August 1 the city delivered to the directors of the road bonds amounting to $80,000 to run ten years at 8 per

cent. The agreement was that before the bonds were delivered the company would execute and deliver to the city a bond in the sum of $160,000, conditional that the railway company should pay and discharge the principal and interest due on the bonds and save the city from all harm which might come to it from issuing them, provided also that the company should execute and deliver a mortgage on their road for the sum of $80,000 to be delivered to the city as soon as the road should be completed as far as Oconomowoc. The bond of indemnity was delivered and a certain amount of stock was also deposited with the city authorities as collateral, but the mortgage was never delivered to the city. The road was finished to Oconomowoc in 1854, but there is no record that the city demanded the delivery of the mortgage at that time, although there is recorded on the books of the company a resolution to deliver it. The bonds were delivered to the railway company before the publication of the act authorizing their issue and even before the city had a legal existence, but the courts did not in any suit brought before them consider this phase of the question. There seems to have been no anxiety on the part of the citizens over the failure of the directors to deliver the mortgage in accordance with the terms of the agreement with the city officials. Every town in Wisconsin was so enthusiastic in favor of railway promotion that such a little matter as mortgage security was overlooked.

The road was completed to Watertown near the end of 1855. Sometime before it reached the city a meeting was called to arrange for a celebration in honor of the event, but the long delay evidently dampened the enthusiasm of the people, and no record of a celebration can be found.

If one railway was good, the people reasoned that two or three would be better, and a number of roads were



State of Wisconsin.

CITY OF WATERTOWN

BOND

Issued in aid of the Milwaukee & Watertown Rail Road Company. August 1st. A D 1853

Know all Men by these Presents:

That the CITY OF WATERTOWN is justly indebted and promises to pay to Daniel Jones, or Bearer, Five Hundred Dollars, on the [illegible] day of [illegible] at the BANK OF [illegible] in the City of New York together with Interest thereon at the rate of Eight per Centum per Annum, Payable semi annually on the presentation and surrender of the annexed Warrants at said Bank. For the payment of Principal and Interest the Faith and Credits of the said City of Watertown are irrevocably and unreservedly pledged

A WATERTOWN RAILWAY BOND

From the original in the Wisconsin Historical Library

projected to traverse Jefferson County, some of which have not been built up to the present time. The popular vote in favor of issuing bonds to assist the Rock River Valley Union Road, a corporation which was soon sold to the Illinois & Wisconsin Railroad and afterwards became part of the Chicago, St. Paul & Fond du Lac Railroad, was held on December 18, 1854. There was a light vote, 200 in favor of issuing bonds and 24 against, but the bonds were never issued, and the following year the road passed out of existence as a corporation.

In 1855 the legislature authorized the city to issue bonds to aid the Watertown & Madison Railway to the amount of $50,000, and $40,000 to the Milwaukee & Watertown Railway. This was in addition to the $80,000 bonds which had been issued in 1853 to the Milwaukee & Watertown Road. The Watertown & Madison Railway ran between Watertown and Madison and was afterwards absorbed by the Milwaukee & St. Paul. On April 16, 1855 an election was held on the question of issuing bonds for the above purposes. Four hundred and eighty-nine votes were cast, of which 161 were in favor of, and 328 against, the issue.

The reluctance to grant any more aid to the Milwaukee & Watertown Road may have been due to the fact that the company had overlooked their agreement in regard to the issuance of the mortgage. The largest of the bond issues passed with the least opposition. In 1856 the legislature authorized the issuance by the city of $400,000 in bonds, one-half of which was in aid of the Watertown & Madison Railway, and the remainder for the Chicago, St. Paul & Fond du Lac Railway. At the city election authorizing the issue the vote was unanimous in its favor. It is difficult at this day to comprehend this action. About the vote on this issue the Watertown *Democrat*

remarks: "This undivided vote shows the unity of feeling and earnestness of purpose which prevails among all our citizens on the subject of railroad improvements. There is no dissenting voice." Ballou, the editor of the *Democrat*, was always perfectly fearless and had intimidation or ballot-box stuffing been resorted to he would not have remained silent. It was rather remarkable that such little interest was shown in such an important matter. This issue of $400,000 bonds drew 8 per cent interest as did the bonds issued to the Milwaukee & Watertown Railway. In 1856 there was a consolidation of the Milwaukee & Watertown and the Watertown & Madison railways. In the same year an ordinance was passed to authorize the city to subscribe to the capital stock of the Watertown & Madison Railway, the road to execute a bond to the city, guaranteeing the completion of the road from Watertown to Madison within two years and to save forever the city harmless from the payment of the principal and interest of the bonds. A city ordinance dated January 22, 1857 ordered that the stock issued by the Watertown & Madison Road be deposited with the Bank of Watertown and that each alderman vote 333 shares of said stock.

The Watertown & Madison Road seemed to have been first in the hearts of the people in Watertown, and other towns seemed to have the same exaggerated idea of the benefits it would confer on them. Toward the end of 1856 seventeen miles were completed, or nearly one-half the distance to Madison. In all this road got $1,050,000 in bonds and mortgage. Watertown issued $200,000 in bonds and Madison $100,000, $185,000 were issued in farm mortgages, and in addition the railway itself issued $10,000 in first-mortgage bonds for every mile of road. A large amount of stock also was bought by private subscription by the citizens of the towns interested.

Watertown Railway Bond Fight

The legislature of 1857 authorized the Watertown & Madison Road to extend its line to the Mississippi River, in spite of the strenuous opposition of the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railway. It was called the Great Middle Passage, and Watertown legislators, Barnes and Chappel, were given a dinner in honor of their efforts in promoting the extension of the road. Watertown and Madison united together on the occasion of the passage of the extension bill. Prominent Watertown men were entertained in royal style by Madison promoters. It was claimed that the road would carry more freight and passengers than any other railway of the same length in the world.

The panic of 1857 came and went. In its path was strewn the wreck of railways and the railway promoters. Every railway project in Wisconsin collapsed, and nothing more was heard of meetings to vote assistance to new roads or additional bonds for those already under way. For a time the people of Watertown did not suspect the extent of the calamity which had overtaken them. There were some mutterings in the press about the stringency in the money market and the need for economy in the management of city finances, but the townspeople did not seem to realize, until they were confronted by the fact that the lessee of the Milwaukee & La Crosse Railway had no intention of paying the interest on the bonds issued by the city to aid the Milwaukee & Watertown Road, that they might become liable for both the principal and the interest.

In November, 1857, D. C. Freeman, the lessee of the Milwaukee & La Crosse Road, in answer to a letter of inquiry from Watertown replied that the so-called lease provided for the payment of certain specified debts, among which was the interest on the first, second, and third mortgages. If the bonds given by the city of Water-

town were included, he would pay the interest on them; if the lease did not provide for their payment, he could not be expected to assume any such obligation. The Watertown *Democrat* denounced such an action on the part of Freeman as the foulest and blackest crime on record; it asserted that the Milwaukee & Watertown Road had made an agreement with the city authorities and the people would insist that the company continue paying the interest as it had done up to that time. A Watertown citizen attacked Byron Kilbourn, the president of the Milwaukee & La Crosse Road, in the columns of the Watertown *Democrat* for not keeping faith with the city. A long defense of Kilbourn appeared with the directors' approval in a Milwaukee paper. It argued that Kilbourn was not wholly to blame, that it was a matter that the directors ought to have attended to, and that they were not so familiar with the affairs of the old company as were their predecessors; and a little matter like meeting their obligations had been overlooked.

The board of aldermen in Watertown seemed to be as ignorant of the facts in the bond issue as were the railway directors, for an inquiry was instituted in December, 1857 to determine the amount of bonds issued by the city and who were in office at the time of the issue. Freeman, who had surrendered his lease of the Milwaukee & Watertown Railway, appeared in Watertown and at a public meeting convinced the people that he was not to blame for the situation in which the city had been placed by the nonpayment of the interest coupons.

On March 25, 1858 it was announced that construction would soon be resumed on the Watertown & Madison Railway, but in less than a month after this investigation the road was sold under a mortgage and bid in by some of its bondholders. Harlow Pease, a member of the As-

sembly from Waterloo, Jefferson County, asked for a legislative investigation of the affairs of the Watertown & Madison Railway, but nothing came of the request. In the same year a committee of the city council met with the directors of the company then in possession of the Milwaukee & Watertown Road and agreed with them as to the nature of the security required for the payment of the bonds issued by the city to assist that corporation. The necessary papers were sent by the directors for their signature, but were never returned. To employ a slang phrase the directors "hornswoggled" the Watertown aldermen. It having been reported that Watertown intended to repudiate its bonded debt, the Watertown *Democrat* denounced the story as malicious and untrue; there was no thought of repudiation, and all that the city asked was that the conditions of their issue be complied with, which, of course, meant that the principal and interest be paid by the railway corporation.

On May 12, 1858 Watertown city bonds were sold in Boston for 32½ cents on the dollar, showing that eastern capitalists had some faith in their value. The Chicago, St. Paul & Fond du Lac Railway was sold under foreclosure on June 2, 1859, old stock to be exchanged for new in the road, which from this time was to go under the name of the Chicago & Northwestern. The Rock River Valley Union and the Illinois & Wisconsin had been absorbed by the Chicago, St. Paul & Fond du Lac, but the holders of the stock and bonds of these roads had been given stock in the new corporation.

We have already seen that in 1856 the city of Watertown had voted $200,000 in bonds to aid the Chicago, St. Paul & Fond du Lac Road. The Chicago & Northwestern, as it is now called, redeemed with stock these bonds given to aid its predecessor and the city was never harmed by the

transaction. William B. Ogden and Perry H. Smith deserve the highest praise for their honorable conduct in relieving Watertown of this obligation. By this action the bonded debt of the city was reduced two-fifths. Had Watertown met with the same treatment at the hands of the directors of the Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway, the city would not have staggered for twenty-five years under the crushing weight of a debt which stayed its growth in population, paralyzed its industries, and made its name a byword among the people of the State. I might accuse those in charge of the affairs of the St. Paul Road with dishonesty. No doubt they were possessed of that virtue which I have often heard well-to-do men boast of—they always paid their personal debts. However, when as officers of a corporation which had "neither a soul to be saved or a body to be kicked," they had an opportunity to make good to the city of Watertown an obligation which they were in honor bound to do, they dodged behind the technicalities of the law with the same keen sense of uprightness which the swindling bankrupt shows when he goes sailing through the court and emerges with all his obligations wiped out, having previously signed over his property to his wife or his mother-in-law.

From the year 1859 the question of city debt was paramount in Watertown. It was a factor in every city election, and had the citizens shown the good sense that other towns similarly situated exhibited it might have been settled with little trouble. The bonds were practically worthless at the time; some had been sold at from 8 to 20 cents on the dollar. Even as late as 1867 Theodore Prentiss bought and sold to the city $6,000 worth of bonds for $665. The city paid the Wisconsin National Bank of Watertown $1,820 for $11,000 worth of bonds. When judgments began to be granted by the courts, and

the bondholders saw some prospect of getting par for their holdings, the market value of the bonds materially increased. In 1860 Mayor Williams, who was an able attorney, said in his annual message that in his opinion the issue of the Watertown & Madison bonds was illegal, and he had no doubt but that the courts would hold them to be so. A suit had already been commenced in the United States District Court to collect interest on the Milwaukee & Watertown bonds. In 1861 a bill was presented by Enos & Hall to the city council for $55 for defending the city in the United States Court. The bill was regarded as rather exorbitant, and they were paid $35 on account, the balance to be paid some time in the future. Lawyers have learned better how to charge and collect for their services since 1861.

In the legislature of 1861 the first of the many laws to assist the city of Watertown was enacted. The issue of compromise bonds was authorized, not to exceed $80,000 in amount. This sum was to be applied in buying up all of the railway debt. No bonds were to be issued under this act until $300,000 of the railway bonds had been negotiated for, and not over $8,000 to be collected as tax in any one year. In 1862 Mayor Dennis stated in his annual message that the liability of the city was $480,000 principal, with 32 per cent accrued interest. The assessed value of the property of the city at this time was $660,000, and the tax levy $11,000. Of the indebtedness $200,000 were in bonds of the Chicago, St. Paul & Fond du Lac road, which were taken up by the Chicago & Northwestern corporation and will not be considered in any subsequent statement of the amount of the debt.

In 1865 the city authorities manifested some disposition to get back at the Milwaukee & St. Paul Road, and the firm of Finches, Lynde & Miller of Milwaukee was

employed to commence a suit against the road in order to compel it to make good its obligation to the city. By some of the aldermen, however, this course of procedure was not regarded as feasible. Alderman Prentiss took strong ground against the proceedings on account of the cost and the improbability of obtaining judgment. The next year, however, the city authorities took up the matter and employed Enos & Hall to commence a suit against the railway company to make good the guarantee of the Milwaukee & Watertown Railway. This suit was brought in the name of Pitkin C. Wright, who had a judgment against the city for over $10,000. The case was tried in the circuit court of Jefferson County and decided adversely to the city. The attorneys, Enos & Hall, advised that it be appealed to the Supreme Court but there is no record of this having been done. Another amendment to the local laws, passed by the legislature of 1866, authorized the city to take up the old bonds and issue new ones at any time. The same year three judgments were granted in the United States District Court against the city: one by Pitkin C. Wright of Iowa for $10,207.86, another by John Browning of New York for $2,528, and a third for the Watertown & Madison Railway bonds in favor of John Wilmot of New York for $9,051.50. This last judgment established the legality of the Watertown & Madison bond issue.

In his inaugural address in the spring of 1867 Mayor Mulberger advised that negotiations be opened with the directors of the Milwaukee & St. Paul Road to see if they could not be induced to grant the city relief from the debt in the same manner that the Chicago & Northwestern Road was doing, and accordingly a large and influential delegation of citizens interviewed the directors of the road on June 25. The spokesman of the delegation,

William M. Dennis, presented a lengthy memorial to the directors. The latter positively refused to do anything, thus closing for good this avenue of hope.

At a public meeting in October, 1867 approval was given to the idea of citizens forming themselves into an association for the purpose of buying bonds as cheaply as possible and holding them until the city had funds to pay for them. This project was broached at different times and received the approval of many, but it was never acted upon. It was endorsed at a large meeting at the city hall in the winter of 1868–69, and I remember that on the same night a great many foolish speeches were made advocating repudiation in one form or another. One prominent and wealthy man advocated circulating handbills on the passenger trains of the Milwaukee & St. Paul Road, advising the public that it was dangerous to travel on the line. In a communication to the *Democrat* this patriot also invoked the spirit of '76. What he meant by the invocation no one could understand, for, when elected alderman, he refused to qualify and face the music.

The year 1868 saw the beginning of a turmoil which lasted without cessation for more than ten years. By the end of the year judgments aggregating $65,000 were rendered against the city in the United States District Court. In the city council Alderman Moore offered a resolution, which was lost by a tie vote, that the city should not pay one penny of the bonds unless the Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway should guarantee to reimburse it for every bond purchased; as much as to say that the city would not pay the bonds unless the Railway Company paid them first. Largely signed petitions to the aldermen from citizens of the First, Third, Fourth, Sixth, and Seventh wards, asking them to repudiate all of the bonds, were presented to the council.

A writ of mandamus in favor of Pitkin C. Wright was issued by the court in September, 1868 and one in favor of James H. Rees in December of the same year. To meet this embarrassing situation the stratagem was resorted to of one-half of the aldermen resigning and leaving the city without a government. The remaining seven would meet regularly, and a resolution to appropriate money to pay the obnoxious judgments would be passed unanimously; whereupon the point of no quorum would be raised, and the council would adjourn without doing the city any harm or conferring any benefit on the owner of the judgment. At a number of public meetings held in the winter of 1868–69 a plan was finally evolved and a bill proposed to the legislature giving a board of bond commissioners power to negotiate with bondholders and buy up the bonds as cheaply as possible.

It is impossible in the scope of this article to enumerate all the plans devised to settle the deplorable tangle in which the city's affairs were involved. At every meeting of the council an ignorant rabble would be present to shout or vote down the proposals of the more intelligent citizens. In contemplating these scenes Matthew Arnold's famous dictum comes to mind: "The intelligent, right thinking, right doing minority could not control the wrong doing, wrong thinking, ignorant majority." Not that the obstructionists were evil-disposed persons; they were in the main honest and well-meaning but it was impossible to have them understand that the city was not an independent principality which could not do as it pleased about fulfilling its legal obligations.

In the legislature of 1869 no less than twelve measures relating to the affairs of the city of Watertown were introduced. A bill was finally passed along the line that the business men desired except that the section taxing

railway property was stricken out. At all public meetings the action of the city officials in evading service was heartily endorsed; it was the opinion of the people without exception that if one of these judgments were paid by order of the court, it would spell ruin for the city as it would then become impossible to compromise on reasonable terms any portion of the immense debt, amounting to two-thirds of the assessed property valuation. One of the holders of a judgment, indeed, offered to accept 75 cents on the dollar for his claim, which was for interest on a Watertown & Madison bond, but others, when approached, said they would take nothing less than dollar for dollar on the face of the judgment. The man "behind the guns" in all these cases was Ephraim Mariner, a well-known Milwaukee attorney, who owned a considerable amount of the bonds himself, which he no doubt had purchased for not more than 10 per cent of their face value. He took the stand that the bonds were lawful claims against the city; the courts had sustained his contention, and nothing less than dollar for dollar would satisfy him. When asked by a citizen of Watertown what he would accept for his bonds, he replied: "I have fixed a price. I add 10 per cent every year to the amount and I propose to get it in full." With such an opponent, who had judgments in the United States Courts to fortify him, there was nothing for the city to do but resist payment.

The new city councilors elected in 1869 were, as they claimed, in favor of buying up the bonds, but they were not willing to pay the price the owners demanded. They proposed to buy the $200,000 of the Watertown & Madison bonds for $50,000. The law which had passed the legislature providing for bond commissioners with authority to purchase bonds at their discretion was rejected by a

popular vote of the citizens, leaving the council to do as it pleased. The majority of the aldermen were justly ranked among the "meddle and muddle" class of citizens; repudiationists at heart, they wished to make a show of their desire to settle the debt in a way which no reasonable man thought could be done. It was claimed that the council was holding secret meetings, and while pretending to safeguard the city's interest was making matters worse. Their course disgusted both the radical repudiationists and the practical business men. The actions of the Council led to the famous Lindon House Meeting, which was called by some of the dissatisfied repudiationists. It was taken possession of by the business men, and D. W. Ballou was made chairman. Resolutions were adopted condemning the council and its plan to pay part of the debt, since this course would enhance out of all proportion the value of the remainder. A resolution was also adopted to the effect that 50 cents on the dollar was all the city could pay for any of the bonds. This was intended to apply only to the principal, as the accumulated interest was already greater than the original debt.

The biennial State election for choosing members of the legislature was held in the same year, 1869. It proved a very important one for Watertown since it resulted in the choice of the man who was destined to have a controlling influence over the course of State legislation with respect to the city's affairs. Daniel Hall was the man who secured the enactment of the necessary protecting legislation, and he was also the attorney for the city who fought the cases through the courts. Theodore Prentiss was his trusted adviser and, although not active in the actual legal work done for the city, the measures adopted were taken with his advice and counsel. These two men

were Americans of the New England Puritan type, men of refinement and culture, neither of them fit to bandy words with a mob or succeed in the hurly-burly of a ward caucus. Hall had unsuccessfully defended the city in the first of the bond suits. On several occasions he refused to accept a retainer from the city when he felt that the position taken by it was not tenable and other prominent lawyers were employed; each time, however, the city learned to its sorrow that the only benefit gained consisted in costly experience.

The Lindon House Meeting, already alluded to, resulted in the enactment of legislation which put the issue squarely before the bondholders; either they could accept the reasonable compromise proposition or the people of Watertown would stand at bay and defy them. To the argument that the courts would find a way to enforce their edicts, Hall replied that the duty of the courts was to construe laws, not to make them; that if the city's creditors were not satisfied with a reasonable offer, it would get on without a board of aldermen and the streets would be taken care of by a highway commission; without a mayor, clerk, or city council taxes could not be levied, and the bondholders would seek in vain for their money. Thus he outlined the legislation which, enacted at two subsequent sessions of the legislature, served to protect the city from the rapacity of its creditors and the mandates of the courts.

Hall's opponent in the election, F. P. Brook, had the endorsement of the Democratic organization. He was a man of mediocre ability but politically was very ambitious. He was regarded as being under the control of William M. Dennis and William Chappel, who were largely responsible, in the opinion of the citizens of Watertown, for the city's unfortunate predicament. Dennis

was president of the Watertown & Madison Railway; Chappel had been mayor of the city when the bonds were issued and a member of the legislature when the laws favorable to the railway were enacted.

That the interests of the city were not properly safeguarded when the bonds were issued does not admit of dispute. It has often been asserted without contradiction that $50,000 of the bonds were distributed among the officers of the company and it is certain that whatever the bonds brought in the market, not all the proceeds were used for railway construction. Dennis and Chappel were men of education, ability, and State-wide reputation. Dennis had served as State bank comptroller for two terms, while Chappel was one of the trusted leaders of the Democratic party. They had both been beneficiaries of the La Crosse corruption bond swindle, each having received $10,000 in bonds as his share in that infamous transaction. When the knowledge that the city would be held for the Watertown & Madison bond debt had become general among the people, from being political leaders, they became political outcasts. Neither of them could have been elected poundmaster. There is no direct proof that they ever profited personally by any bond issue, but certain it is that they did not show the same mental acumen and business shrewdness in their actions as public officials that they manifested in their private affairs. In judging them at the bar of history the best that can be said of them would be the Scotch verdict, "not proven."

It must be said to his credit, however, that Dennis was influential in the liquidation of that part of the debt which had been created by the issue of the bonds in favor of the Chicago, St. Paul & Fond du Lac Railway. He and A. L. Pritchard, president of the Bank of Watertown

and one of the directors of the Road, deserve credit for the transaction whereby the Watertown bonds were exchanged for stock in the Chicago & Northwestern Railway. Pritchard, too, was for a long time the city's trusted agent in the purchase of bonds, receiving 1 per cent as his commission.

Brook, handicapped by the backing of Dennis and Chappel, in spite of an overwhelming party majority in his favor found it difficult to gain the endorsement of the people for his candidacy. What happened to him may fitly be expressed by the old German proverb, "Mit gefangen, mit gehangen"—the man who is caught with the thieves is hanged with them. He was beaten by a narrow majority.

Daniel Hall was an influential member of the legislature of 1870–72. His representation of a district overwhelmingly Democratic, although he himself was a Republican, gave him much prestige, and anything he advocated in the nature of legislation in the interests of Watertown met with but little opposition. He was a member of the judiciary committee in his first term and its chairman in his second. In 1872 he was honored by being elected speaker of the Assembly. He had a bill passed by the legislature February 17, 1870 appointing commissioners to compromise the city debt. They had the power to buy up the outstanding bonds and issue new ones running a long time at a low rate of interest. He also secured the enactment of a law on March 8, 1870 authorizing seven aldermen to act in the capacity of a board of street commissioners. They could spend money for streets and bridges and all necessary municipal expenses but could not levy a tax. This was the act that first shut the gate against writs of the courts. The legislature of 1871 amended the act of 1870 by passing a

bill creating a city council of fourteen members, seven of whom should be senior, and seven junior, aldermen. The senior aldermen should constitute a board of street commissioners who should have all the powers of aldermen except that they could not levy a tax for any purpose. They could build or repair bridges and schoolhouses, keep the streets in order, and appropriate money for any municipal improvements whatsoever, but as in the act of 1870 they could not levy a tax.

The practice adopted by the city after the passage of this law (March 3, 1871) was as follows: The city election took place on the first Tuesday in April. The board of street commissioners met within a week and canvassed the vote; certificates of election were issued to the mayor-elect and to the fourteen aldermen. The mayor-elect would then notify the aldermen of the time and place of meeting. The tax roll would be made up in advance of the meeting of the full council; the aldermen would qualify, pass the budget, elect city officers, and then the clerk would collect the resignations of the junior aldermen, which lay on each man's desk ready for his signature before he took the oath of office. The clerk would place them on file along with the resignation of the new mayor, and the seven senior aldermen were left to constitute the board of street commissioners and run the city government for the ensuing year. Under the old charter an alderman's resignation was not effective until his successor was elected and qualified. Under the act of March 3, 1871 the resignations of all city officials took effect as soon as they had been filed with the city clerk. This remarkable and original manner of conducting the affairs of the city was followed for twenty years. Daniel Hall had made good his threat—"unless the bondholders

DANIEL HALL

listen to reason, they will not be able to hurt a hair of our heads."

A number of attempts were made to get service on the council when it was in session. In 1884 no less than four deputy marshals were in the city at one time seeking an opportunity to serve papers. The laudable desire of the average man to return home with a whole skin and die in his bed from natural causes no doubt prevented the court officer from making any persistent effort to find the council in session. It is related that one minion of the law thought it imprudent to wait for the evening train and made the first part of his return trip to Ixonia (seven miles) on foot, the distance to the city limits being run in Marathon time. There is no doubt that if a United States marshal had attempted to serve a writ in the council while in session serious, and possibly tragic, consequences would have ensued.

After securing the passage of the first laws legalizing this irregular form of city government, Daniel Hall, acting as agent for the commissioners of the public debt, issued a proclamation to the bondholders on April 4, 1870 asking them to come and meet with the commissioners. The bonded debt, principal and interest, was then $750,000, and the assessed value of all the real and personal property in the city was $1,500,000. The commissioners offered to pay 50 per cent of the principal in fifteen annual installments with interest at 7 per cent. One-seventh of the debt was settled on this basis, and there is no doubt that if the bondholders had been reasonable and had accepted the terms offered, further litigation and agitation would have come to an end. Instead, however, of a peaceable settlement by compromise the second chapter of the great legal battle on the part of the city's

creditors to enforce their claims in the courts was commenced.

One of the holders of a judgment against the city asked the United States Circuit Court to issue a writ of mandamus to the city treasurer ordering him to pay what funds might be in his possession to satisfy his claim. This was refused by the court and nothing more was done in this matter. But on June 21, 1871 Rees, who had already vainly attempted to get service on the city council, asked the United States Circuit Court to order the marshal to seize and sell enough taxable property in the city of Watertown to pay his judgments. All of the powers of the court had been exhausted—judgments, executions, and writs of mandamus. His counsel admitted that the courts could not levy a tax, but they asked the court to order the seizure of the property and the sale of it for the benefit of Rees as a creditor and thus secure payment of the money which the edict of the court had awarded him. On December 15, Judge Drummond, in his opinion, said that the court could not order the marshal to levy on property; but that the plaintiff was certainly entitled to collect his judgment and if he could not, we did not live in a country governed by law. Rees must go into a court of equity and ask for justice. "If however there is a unanimous sentiment in any community against paying such judgments, their collection is impossible. There is a power in an unanimous public opinion that no court can overcome. It is obvious that Watertown cannot pay all and the best thing for both creditor and debtor is a compromise. The complainant ought to have legal redress but the court can see no way to give it to him."

The attempt of the city's creditors to force collection through the courts without intermediary action of the city's authorities was the cause of the passage of a bill in

the legislature of 1872 to exempt private property from seizure to pay municipal debts. This measure passed the Assembly by a vote of 60 to 5. It proved to be superfluous legislation as Section 9 of the city charter was held to be an adequate bar against such attempts.[1]

[1] The debate on the bill in the Assembly is of interest, showing as it does the state of feeling on the question. It is reported in the Watertown *Republican* of Mar. 6, 1872, as follows:

"General Winkler said the bill was very innocent in appearance, and if its object was simply to prevent the seizure of private property by execution, he would say it was right, but it goes further, and exempts private property from all sorts of process for the collection of corporate debts, especially from assessments, which some maintained the courts had a right to make. It is the substantial prevention of the collection of any debts of municipalities from the taxpayers thereof. It was said it did not do away with the writ of *mandamus*, but that had been found ineffectual in repeated instances. He was not in favor of depriving courts of collecting debts in an equitable manner on all the property of a municipality.

"He sympathized with communities situated like Watertown and some others, and if they could satisfy the Legislature that they were entitled to such relief as that proposed in this bill, he might consent to giving it in the special cases of these communities. But he opposed putting into the hands of every municipality the power of repudiation. He thought the passage of such a law would affect the credit of these municipalities in this state, having millions of dollars of bonds in Market. As to the threat of bloodshed in case this bill did not pass, he said it had no terror for him. He had too much confidence in the good sense and patriotism of the people of this State to believe they would thus resort to revolution. He had no particular interest in opposing the bill, and if it applied alone to the localities referred to, he would sit quietly and see it pass, as he had other measures for their relief.

"Mr. Hall said large portions of the State were deeply interested in the passage of this bill. When it was ordered to a third reading he had said that unless the rule laid down in this bill was observed by the courts, the soil of Wisconsin would be reddened with the blood of her citizens, not as a threat, but as a consequence that must inevitably follow. At the same time he merely alluded to what he understood to be a fact, that the gentleman from Milwaukee (Mr. Winkler) was attorney to collect a judgment against the city of Watertown, upon which he (Mr. Hall) understood that he is personally sued, not for any wrong he has done, but because he has a homestead at Watertown which the bond holders want, to pay the city bonds whose issue he had opposed. He had stated his interest, and merely stated what he believed to be that of the gentleman from Milwaukee (Mr. Winkler.) He had no thought of saying anything to the disadvantage of that gentleman, for whom he entertained the most sincere respect. The man who believes that tens of thousands of people can be stripped of all their property to pay municipal judgments, merely because it

Rees now got a new judgment for $11,000 and, profiting by the suggestion of Judge Drummond, filed a suit in equity in the United States Court for the Western District of Wisconsin before Judges Drummond and Hopkins, asking that the corporate authorities be declared trustees for the benefit of the creditors of the city and that the court lay hold of the taxable property and subject it to the payment of the judgments by having the marshal seize and sell as much of it as might be necessary. The court was divided and the bill dismissed. Judge Drum-

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has been voted away by their neighbors who had little or no property—has not given much attention to history, especially to Anglo Saxon history. A tax of twenty shillings ship money against John Hampden, led to resistance—when the courts decided it to be a legal tax. That decision cost the King his crown and his life. Well was it for England that her chivalry lay strewn upon the fields of Naseby and Marston Moor, by the onset of Cromwell's terrible Ironsides. Else her government might have become a centralized despotism under the treacherous Charles. * * *

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"* * * When taxation rises to a point where it is a confiscation of the people's estates, it crushes out the taxing power. It was never designed for any such work. Where these bonds to such an amount, have been voted on the people by those who pay no taxes, as it was done in the case of Watertown, (mainly for a road we did not want,) by a rabble of railroad laborers thrown out of employment on a road that had stopped, no man willing to pay his own share can escape from the burden, unless he can compel every body else to pay. He must take the property of those whose small means of support is the accumulation of a lifetime, and rob every widow and orphan. If the bonds issued never occasion an oppressive tax, the people will always pay. It is only when they have been issued in great excess that they resist, and then [sic] they ought to resist. The people are quite as honest, and just as much disposed to do right, as any legislature they have ever elected, or any court they have ever created.

"Whoever thinks that from 50,000 to 100,000 of the people of Wisconsin can be stripped without resistance of their all or nearly all their means of support, to satisfy the avarice of the men who bought up the farm mortgages at trifling cost, and have now combined to use the wealth they wrung from the sweat and blood of the farmers of Wisconsin, to buy up these Railroad bonds against cities, towns, counties and villages, at a small fraction of their par value, in order to build their fortunes upon the ruin of so many, will find himself grievously mistaken. The experiment had better not be tried. The people are all good loyal citizens as long as the law protects them. But rob them and any of them will make as good a rebel as was the author of the Declaration of Independence."

mond thought that the court of equity had the power to frame a decree to meet the exigencies of the case. If the duly elected officials failed to do their duty then the court by its officers should assess the amount of the judgment on the taxable property and collect it by sale. Judge Hopkins, on the other hand, thought that the court had no right to lay its hands on the taxing laws of the state, nor had it the authority through its officers to assess and collect taxes. The only way to raise money to pay a judgment was by a tax and the usual methods would have to be followed.

The case was then appealed to the United States Supreme Court and argued in October, 1873. It was a battle royal. For the plaintiffs appeared H. A. and D. K. Tenney with S. U. Pinney of Madison; for the defendants Daniel Hall, Matt H. Carpenter, and H. L. Palmer. The argument for the plaintiff was based for the most part on the equity maxim that "where there is a right there is a remedy" and here was a clear legal right and the remedy at law was found to be worthless. The courts decided for the city. Justice Hunt said in his decision[1] that upon a class of the defenses interposed in the answer and in argument it was not necessary to spend much time. The theories upon which they proceeded, he argued, were vicious; they were based upon the idea that a refusal to pay an honest debt was justifiable because it would distress the debtor to pay it. A voluntary refusal to pay an honest debt is a high offense in a commercial community and is a just cause of war between nations. So far as the defense rested on these principles there was no difficulty in overruling it. The court said, however, that the proper remedy was a writ of mandamus to compel the city to levy taxes, and if the city failed to

[1] 19 Wallace 107.

appoint the proper officers to do this the court had no authority to appoint its own officers to carry out the neglected duty. There is a great difference between a want of a remedy and inability to obtain the fruits of it. Where the carrying out of the legal remedy is obstructed by fraud, violence, or crime equity does not afford any further aid. Therefore equity would not lay a tax here where the writ of mandamus had failed. Where the legal remedy is adequate and complete, time and the law must perfect its execution. Execution on property of individual citizens could not be had by reason of Section 9 of the city's charter providing against execution on the property of individual citizens for debts of the city, and the bonds were bought subject to this provision.

Justices Clifford and Swayne dissented on the ground that equity will never permit a trust to be defeated by the refusal of the trustee to administer the fund and also that the court was giving "judicial sanction to the fraudulent repudiation of an honest debt."

The decision was handed down in March, 1874, and its effect was tremendous. It gave the sanction of the highest court in the land to the Watertown form of city government. So long as the city chose to use this cloak to protect itself from the owners of judgments there was nothing for the latter to do but to compromise. In 1872 after the passage of the bill creating the board of street commissioners, the Watertown *Democrat* had congratulated the city on standing on a high plane. It was protected by recent legislation against the rapacity of the holder of judgments and the compromise act had already reduced the amount of the public debt by one-seventh; over $100,000 of the debt had been taken up and $21,000 in new bonds had been issued, to be paid when the city was financially able to meet them. The promised land

which the optimistic editor had seen was only a mirage which was soon dispelled by stern and unpleasant realities.

As we have already noted, there was always a class of discontented, ignorant people in Watertown, whose suspicions, fed by the insinuations and falsehoods of a few designing demagogues, gradually deepened into the conviction that the anxiety of the well-to-do intelligent classes to have the bonded debt settled proceeded from purely selfish motives. These people were not organized, however, and in spite of their being able to disturb meetings and occasionally elect some of their own kind to office, they did not meet with much success as obstructionists.

The time had now come, in the opinion of those best qualified to judge, for the city to proceed with the settlement of its indebtedness; although the burden to be assumed was a heavy one, still it was not unbearable and the outlook for relief from the incubus which had hindered the city's growth and prosperity was a reasonable one. The organization of the notorious Union League in June, 1872, however, was destined for fifteen years to play a sinister role in the city's affairs, obstructing its prosperity and growth and frequently, by the antics of its leaders, making the name of Watertown a byword and a joke to the people of the State and causing the more intelligent citizens of the place to hang their heads in shame.

In a communication to the Watertown *Democrat* of May 2, 1872 Patrick Devy made the charge that the judgments and the bonds were owned directly or indirectly by citizens of Watertown. This had always been the battle cry of the repudiationists, and now that they saw there was a prospect of the whole debt being wiped out by compromise they bestirred themselves and organ-

ized a League which, while at first not openly advocating repudiation, proposed all sorts of impracticable schemes to obstruct any further effort along the lines of settling the indebtedness. Not over half a dozen leaders composed the junta which ruled the ignorant but honest and well-meaning dupes who made up its following. Of these the most influential and dangerous was Patrick Devy; noisy, unscrupulous, and without any regard for the truth, he was well fitted for his position as a leader in the counsels of the League. He attended every meeting and was always ready to talk on any question bearing on the city's debt. On one occasion, when intoxicated by his own verbosity, he shouted that if the cruel bondholders should persist in their nefarious designs to collect their bonds, the payment of which must fall upon the poor man, he would be in favor of making a pile of ashes of the city to see what they and the wicked courts would do then to collect their judgments.

It is not difficult to estimate the political ability of the voters who would follow such a leader; yet this man was for years an alderman and on one occasion was even elected to the Wisconsin legislature! The weekly papers at first published reports of the proceedings of the Union League but after a time they refused to do so and the Madison *Democrat* afforded the only avenue of publicity open to them. They appointed a Committee of Safety, in imitation of the Jacobins of the French Revolution. What the Committee did was never known to the public, but it was strongly suspected that its numbers were responsible for what is known as the "coffin outrage." One morning in the summer of 1872 each of five prominent and influential citizens found on his doorstep a miniature coffin in which lay a slip of paper on which was written, "In this bury all your bonds and your villainy

with it. Beware!" I attended a number of the meetings of this League and never heard anything but tirades against the wicked bondholders and exhortations to those present to stand together and they would win in the end. How they were to win no one of their spokesmen could even suggest. The legislation which had been enacted with the approval of the citizens' "Debt Association" protected them as well as the rest of the people from the holders of judgments, and permitted them to split the ears of their followers with their weekly mouthings without incurring the slightest personal danger. When, as occasionally happened, they got control of the city government, their official conduct was characterized by incompetence and petty graft. At a public meeting in the winter of 1873 the members of the League even threatened the destruction of all the railway property in the city.

That these strictures are not too severe is attested by the files of the Watertown *Democrat*. D. W. Ballou, the editor, was a highly intelligent man and a patriotic citizen, with an excellent standing among the newspaper men of the State. He characterized the records of the meetings of the League as "a disjointed, ill-written, lying jumble." In the *Democrat* of January 2, 1873 he speaks of their proceedings as "a hodge-podge mess of drivelling, drooling gibberish and contemptible bosh." About this time they made a rule allowing no one but members to attend their meetings. Some of their performances would certainly have made a good libretto for a comic opera. They advocated the boycotting of all citizens who were in sympathy with the bondholders. When the Watertown *Weltburger* asked the officers of the League to name the Watertown citizens who were owners of bonds or judgments, a resolution was passed unanimously requesting the editor to ask his wife. The meeting then adopted

another resolution denouncing the *Weltburger* as "unworthy of our esteem and confidence." A correspondent of the *Democrat* who signed himself "A. B. C." also incurred the censure of the League, which in its public meeting resolved that he should have signed himself "A. S. S." and "that we also hold him in utter contempt." Another resolution passed at one of the meetings of the League declared that "we will defend our homes from the bondholders in the same way that we would defend them from thieves and highway robbers." City officials who were not in sympathy with the organization were invited to resign their offices. A committee of the League waited on J. T. Moak, postmaster of Watertown, who was a member of the board of street commissioners, and asked him to resign as a city official. Moak, an able, keen-witted man, without a grain of cowardice in his nature, ordered the members of the committee out of his office and in unprintable language threatened them with personal violence if they should come again on such an errand. At the next meeting of the League he was denounced by resolution as unworthy of its confidence.

In 1874 the League gained control of the board of street commissioners and some of its proceedings were exceedingly humorous. A stray stallion had been a source of trouble to the people of the neighborhood where one of the members lived. The commissioners passed unanimously an ordinance to the effect that any stallion found loose without a bridle or halter should be fined $10. W. D. Hoard, editor of the Fort Atkinson *Union*, suggested that the Watertown city fathers pass an ordinance fining tomcats who should appear on a back fence at night without a paper collar the same amount. One of the powers of the city council is by election to fill vacancies on the board of education. A member of that board was sick with con-

sumption. The night of the meeting of the aldermen it was rumored that the sick man was dead, whereupon the street commissioners immediately elected his successor. The report like that of Mark Twain's death was "grossly exaggerated" as the sick man continued to live for several months.

The antics of the League had one important effect. They put a stop to the changing of old bonds for new ones. In the Watertown *Democrat* of January 30, 1873 Ballou denounced "the causeless, senseless, dishonest opposition, but for which one-half of the bonds would have probably been exchanged by this time. Ten or twelve years ago when it was seen that we would probably be held for the payment of the debt, the bonds could have been bought for from ten to twenty cents on the dollar. The Lindon House plan which called for a compromise was adopted three years ago, and as soon as it was beginning to work the League set about to destroy its value."

At this time a number of judgments were obtained against the city. No defense was made by Daniel Hall, who said that it would be only going over the same ground again, and all that could be done would be to see that the proper amounts were entered on record. The failure of the holders of judgments to obtain service did not deter others from making an attempt. Gordon Hewitt began a suit on June 23, 1871. After obtaining a judgment he filed an equity proceeding asking that the United States marshal serve a writ on a number of Watertown citizens, citing them to appear before the court. The court dismissed the defendants, however, and Hewitt's effort failed.

Hewitt was a very persistent creditor. He made four different attempts to collect his judgments. On November 11, 1874 his attorney filed a bill in chancery to compel a

discovery of the names of the taxpayers of the city, in order to have them personally subpœnaed into court, a decree entered against everyone, and his property sold regardless of exemption laws, for the payment of his probable share of complainants' judgments against the city in railway bonds, amounting in this case to $100,000. Ephraim Mariner appeared for the plaintiff and Daniel Hall for the defendant. The court held that the action could not be maintained.

The next few years were marked by a struggle between the two factions: the citizens' Association, which believed in compromising the debt, and the League, which held the opinion that its opponents owned the bonds and the judgments and wanted the poor men to pay them. One or two incidents may be mentioned which add interest to the narrative.

An ignorant but enthusiastic leaguer assaulted Fred Miller, a prominent and wealthy citizen, and beat him severely. The attack was entirely unprovoked and indignation ran high. Miller, when able to leave his bed, declined to prosecute his assailant, who, when he had come to his right mind, deeply regretted his offense. The immediate consequence of this incident was a popular uprising against the leaders of the League, and a campaign was prosecuted by the citizens with such vigor that the League was beaten two to one. This election resulted in a decidedly higher class of citizens being chosen to office and for a time the city's affairs were again conducted on business principles.

A majority of the street commissioners happened to be Republicans in politics, and as the presidential election of 1876 was pending, some few of the politicians sought to make political capital for themselves by advocating a straight party ticket in a Democratic stronghold like

Watertown. Chief among these was Charles H. Gardner, an attorney of some ability, who, no doubt, was looking for a Federal appointment in the event of the success of his party. The majority of the citizens, however, stood firm and the League was again beaten.

The citizens of Watertown seemed incapable of a sustained effort, and soon grew weary of well-doing. They allowed themselves to be represented for three years in the legislature by Hezekiah Flinn, who did everything possible to impede progress toward a settlement of the debt. He introduced a bill to forbid payment of the interest on the compromise bonds to which the city's honor was pledged. He finally succeeded in repealing the compromise act of 1871, although it was reënacted in 1881 after the League had lost its power. On different occasions delegations of business men had to go to Madison and lobby for the city's interests because they were misrepresented by the city's legal representative.

In 1877 Flinn introduced a measure which became a law requiring the holding of two charter elections a week apart, and his followers were victorious in both. In spite of such a blunder he was reëlected to the legislature of 1878–79. The election of Jesse Stone, a prominent business man who afterward became lieutenant-governor in 1879, broke the power of the League so far as keeping its leaders in the legislature was concerned.

The revision of the statutes in 1878 placed the city in grave peril, as the committee on revision proposed to wipe off the statute books the laws protecting the city from judgments. A section of the new revision provided that when a certified transcript of a final judgment rendered against the city should be filed with the city clerk, the amount should be placed on the tax roll and collected. The Watertown authorities through Daniel Hall, their

attorney, petitioned that this section should apply only to liabilities thereafter incurred. The committee on revision acceded to the city's request.

It is not possible within the scope of this article to give a history of all the associations organized by the citizens of Watertown to compromise the city debt. They showed good civic spirit on the part of their promoters; they all "harked back" to the original scheme, which was enacted into law when Daniel Hall was in the Assembly.

As time went on the bitterness between the factions diminished, and although the Union League, in a meeting held in August, 1877, pronounced for repudiation, many of the members of that organization seemed to become convinced that not all their fellow citizens who wanted to compromise the debt were rascals and thieves. In January, 1878 a new organization was formed, which advocated the policy of offering 5 per cent of the assessed value of the city for all the outstanding bonds and judgments. Many members of the League joined this association.

The legislature of 1883 was asked to intervene in the struggle by repealing the legislation protecting the city; it refused to do so, however, and the well-worn but rocky path of attempting to obtain service on the aldermen was again taken up by Mariner and his aids. The scheme devised by Mariner was to secure the enactment of a law requiring 6 per cent of the total amount of the debt to be placed on the tax roll every year. The Senate committee reported favorably a bill making the amount 3 per cent, but the Watertown lobby succeeded in having it killed.

The elaborate legal structure which Daniel Hall had built up in the legislature to protect the city played its greatest role in the final litigation which served to wipe out the bonds. The bondholders finally realized that un-

less they should succeed in getting service on the city all their claims would be outlawed by virtue of the six-year statute of limitations. They bent every effort to this end, therefore, and numerous actions were instituted in both the State and Federal courts to have the forms of service to which in the absence of a mayor they were compelled to resort declared legally sufficient, but all their efforts proved fruitless. Thus as early as 1873 Judge Hopkins held in the circuit court for western Wisconsin[1] that service on the city clerk and city treasurer or on the mayor-elect before these officials had qualified was not sufficient to comply with the requirement of the city charter, and that no suit could be instituted against the city except by service on the mayor. In the State courts the endeavor was made to have the board of street commissioners declared a *de facto* common council and its chairman the *de facto* mayor, but in 1884 the supreme court of Wisconsin refused to go outside of the terms of the statutes,[2] and reaffirmed this view three years later in a trial involving the same case with some of the details slightly varied.[3]

The bondholders, however, did meet with a temporary success in the Federal courts in 1883, which augured ill for the city. Through the inactivity of the then city attorney, Gardner, the case was not defended by the city and in an opinion, evidently hastily considered, Justices Harlan and Bunn, sitting for the western circuit of Wisconsin, decided that service on the city clerk, the city attorney, and the last-elected chairman of the board of street commissioners was a sufficient service where there was no mayor or president of the council in office.[4] This

[1] Perkins v. City of Watertown, 5 Bissell 320.
[2] Robinson v. City of Watertown, 59 Wis. 513.
[3] Robinson v. City of Watertown, 69 Wis. 230.
[4] Worts v. City of Watertown, 16 Fed. 534.

decision made no reference to the statute of the State directing the precise mode of service necessary,[1] nor did it refer to the decision of Judge Hopkins in the same court only ten years before which arrived at a precisely contrary conclusion.

The city authorities now became alarmed at the prospect, and overtures were made to Judge David Davis, United States senator from Illinois and a former Supreme Court justice, to represent the city in carrying the case through to the United States Supreme Court. He, however, would not take the case, and Daniel Hall again carried the fight through, calling to his assistance as counsel George W. Bird of Madison. The Supreme Court considered the question in two cases, both entitled Amy v. City of Watertown, and handed down its decisions in 1889,[2] Justice Bradley writing the opinions. He held that while service on the city clerk and a conspicuous member of the board of street commissioners might have been sufficient under the common law, yet when the statute prescribes a given method of service it must be followed, and the inconvenience arising from the office of mayor being vacant would be no reason for substituting some other officer to accept service. The legal bar set up by Section 2637 of the Wisconsin *Revised Statutes* of 1878 requiring a delivery of a copy of the service to the mayor and the city clerk was mandatory, and the Supreme Court could not attribute improper motives to state legislatures in the passage of such laws. Justice Bradley said that while the mayor may have had an improper motive in resigning from office he nevertheless had a legal right to resign, and while this may have prej-

[1] Wisconsin *Revised Statutes*, 1878, sects. 2637 and 4220.
[2] 130 U. S. 301 and 130 U. S. 320.

udiced the plaintiffs it afforded them no legal basis for complaint.

The bondholders had relied principally on the argument that the evasion of service by the city was fraud and that concealment of fraud will suspend the operation of the statute of limitations. The Court met this by denying that evasion of service could properly be characterized as a legal fraud, no matter how unjustifiable morally it might be. The Court further said that inability to serve a process is not an excuse for not commencing an action within the period prescribed by the statute of limitations, and a mere attempt to serve process could not stand as a valid answer to the statutory bar.[1]

The effect of this decision was, of course, overwhelming. At one stroke it outlawed every bond against the city which had not been reduced to a judgment, and these latter amounted to only about one-third of the total.

The holders of bonds and judgments realized that the long-drawn-out legal battle had ended in a complete victory for the city. The best legal talent in the State had been employed on behalf of the city's creditors and the court of final resort had decided against them.

Mariner, who for a quarter of a century had spurned the suggestion of a compromise with the city, was changed by the decision into a suppliant willing to surrender every bond and judgment in his possession in return for the payment of a small fraction of his former claims. On November 23, 1891 he came to Watertown and in consideration of the sum of $15,000, turned over to the city bonds and judgments of the face value of $600,000. He also gave a bond of indemnity in the penal sum of $100,000, which was filed with the city clerk, to save the city

[1] See also Knowlton v. Watertown, 130 U. S. 327.

harmless from any claims which might be brought on the judgments.

There now remained a few bonds termed from their holder, the Metcalf bonds and the city made an endeavor in the courts to have these declared outlawed along with the rest. They had been reduced to judgment in 1866, and an action to recover on the judgment had been instituted in 1883. The city endeavored to apply the statute of limitations provided by chapter 138, of the *Revised Statutes* of 1858, reading "an action on a judgment of any court of record of any state or territory within the United States or of any court of the United States * * * shall be barred after ten years" but in June, 1894 Chief Justice Fuller interpreted this section as referring only to state courts of other states than Wisconsin and of the United States courts sitting without Wisconsin, and held that the twenty-year statute covering domestic judgments was applicable.[1] By this decision the city was made liable for the original judgment of $10,206.86 awarded in 1866 plus interest to the time of payment, already nearly thirty years.

The city government reverted to its normal condition in 1894 while the Metcalf case was pending in the supreme Court. On July 11, 1895 the court filed its opinion by which the judgment of the circuit court was reversed, with directions that the plaintiff be given judgment for the amount due on the finding of August 2, 1889.

At a meeting of the city council held on August 20 resolutions were adopted authorizing the mayor and the finance committee to complete arrangements with E. W. Metcalf for the settlement of his judgment as soon as it should be properly entered against the city. A payment

[1] Metcalf v. city of Watertown, 153 U. S. 67.

of $5,000 was authorized by the council at its meeting on September 6, 1895, and arrangements were made to pay the balance in twenty semiannual installments, with interest at 5 per cent per annum.

Thus ended one of the most notable legal battles in the history of Wisconsin.

Brevet Major Isaac N. Earl: A Noted Scout of the Department of the Gulf[1]

By Newton H. Culver

The summer of 1861 we guarded the railroad from the Relay House nine miles out from Baltimore to Annapolis Junction. On November 4 we were taken to Baltimore and shipped on board the steamer Adelaide and were off for the east shore. Then we were taken up the Wicomico River to Whitehaven where we landed and began our first march. The first night we camped at Princess Anne and the second at Snowhill. Here we remained several days, and then proceeded on down the east shore. On one of our marches we met an old gentleman in a dilapi-

[1] Isaac Newton Earl was one of three orphan brothers who were reared by their uncles, Nathaniel, Edwin, Elisha, and William Crosby. William J. Earl and Isaac N. Earl lived with Elisha Crosby at Plainville, and Joseph W. Earl with Edwin Crosby near Pine Bluff, Adams County, Wis. William Crosby was at one time sheriff of Adams County. Living in the backwoods of a new country the boys had but meager school advantages. Their winters were spent in the lumber camps and their summers were passed driving and rafting logs on the Wisconsin River. Thus they grew up unendowed with the knowledge derived from books but were grounded in that of woodcraft. This knowledge later stood Isaac Earl in good stead as a scout.

All three of the brothers enlisted in the Federal army, and none survived the service. Joseph enlisted at Springville in Company D, Fourth Wisconsin Cavalry, June 2, 1861, and died of disease at Ship Island, Miss., June 21, 1862. Isaac also enlisted in Company D, Fourth Wisconsin Cavalry, on June 24, 1861, when about twenty years of age. The story of his military career and death will be told in the following pages. Most unfortunate of all the brothers was William. He enlisted at Belmont, Wis., in Company C, Seventh Wisconsin Infantry, Aug. 10, 1861, and on Nov. 28, following, was transferred to Battery

dated vehicle. I saw one of the members of Company D take hold of one of the wheels and demand of the man that he "hurrah for Lincoln." After having been shaken several times he feebly responded. I afterward learned that the soldier who did the shaking was I. N. Earl.

During the ensuing eighteen months we returned to Baltimore, built the Wisconsin Barracks in Patterson's Park at the east end of East Baltimore Street, and went to Fortress Monroe, Newport News, and to Ship Island in the Gulf of Mexico. From the latter place we went to the Southwest Pass and then up the Mississippi to New Orleans, where with the Thirty-first Massachusetts Regiment, we were the first troops to enter after the city had surrendered to Commodore Farragut. Then followed the two expeditions to Vicksburg, the attempt to change the channel of the river by cutting a ditch across the bend opposite the city, and the return to Baton Rouge where a battle occurred August 5, 1862. We spent the ensuing winter at New Orleans and Baton Rouge. In the meantime the enemy fortified Port Hudson and General Banks began his series of operations against that place.

During these months Earl was promoted to the rank of corporal. He had become possessed of a breech-loading rifle and, gaining a place in advance of the line in the

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B, Fourth United States Artillery. On July 7, 1863 he deserted at Gettysburg; he was captured, taken to Camp Randall, and there shot while attempting to escape. He had always been a good soldier and fought bravely at Gettysburg. In view of his record and the absence of any known reason for his desertion it may be supposed that he was suffering at the time from some temporary lapse of reason.

In the narrative that follows I have depended upon my memoranda made day by day for the three years I served in Company C, Fourth Wisconsin Infantry (later Cavalry) and for the five months I was a member of Major Earl's corps of scouts. I left the scouts Oct. 27, 1864, just a month before Earl received his mortal wound. Information concerning this later period of his career may be obtained, by those who are interested, from the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies.*

charge of May 27, 1863, he dug a rifle pit in which he remained and made good use of his weapon. Col. Sidney A. Bean, our commander, observing this, made his way out to Earl two days later, got into the pit with Earl, and wanted to try the rifle. Becoming impatient for a Confederate to show his head above the breastworks, he raised his body above the pit when Earl pulled him down. He waited a little longer, then rose again, when Earl pulled him down a second time saying, "Colonel they will shoot you." A little later he rose quickly and was immediately shot, falling back dead into Earl's arms. Thus we lost a brave and true officer beloved by all his men and one whose prospects for the future were of the brightest.

While going over the enemy's works in the charge of June 14 Earl was slightly wounded and taken prisoner. He made good use of his faculties while inside the hostile lines. With other prisoners he was taken to the river bank to pick up driftwood for fuel. He picked up bit after bit of wood until he was some distance from his guard when he dropped his load and plunged into a bayou which separated him from some willows. Although fired at several times he gained their shelter and made his escape. Upon his return Earl was called before General Banks. He told the General the numbers of Confederate troops, the number and location of cannon mounted, the location of the magazines and quartermaster's stores, and the general situation inside the fortifications. In recognition of this service General Banks made him a lieutenant.

While on the march up Bayou Teche and down Red River the regiment mounted itself in three days' time by appropriating horses of various sizes and colors, and with all kinds of saddles and bridles. In this way the regiment became one of mounted infantry, and soon after by order

of the War Department it was made a cavalry regiment. Since Wisconsin had raised but three regiments of cavalry up to that time our regiment did not change its number.

After the surrender of Port Hudson on July 8 the regiment returned to Baton Rouge and encamped on the State House grounds. Frequently all alone Lieutenant Earl busied himself scouring the surrounding country, familiarizing himself with the roads and streams, fords, bridges, and ferries. On September 29 he brought in as prisoners Captain Pinney and thirteen of his men from the east side of the Amite River. The night before he had passed over the stream, taking with him two negro boys who knew every person and all the roads for miles up and down that side of the river. They quietly surrounded house after house where they picked up one, two, or more men who, thinking they were safe, had come home to sleep.

Having seen Earl's captures and heard so much of his work as a scout, I had become desirous of going with him so as to judge of it for myself. I had thought it possible that his success was due more to luck than to fitness. On October 28, 1863 I joined him on a scouting expedition. We went out on the Benton Ferry road. There we saw five men quietly sitting on their horses on the opposite side of the river. Earl demanded their surrender; whereupon they rode away with us firing at them. There being no ferryboat on our side of the river Earl commanded "Right about, gallop, march," and we hastened up the river to where there was a ferryboat on our side. We crossed over in it but failed to intercept our men; we did, however, capture the son of Colonel Hunter, C. S. A. The quickness with which Earl decided what to do on several occasions while we were out convinced me that he had that qualification at least for a scout. That he knew

just where he was all the time was evident. I was well pleased to be with him.

Some of us were out in the country round about Baton Rouge every day but without any apparent results. On November 25 scouting parties were out in all directions. What the occasion for it was I never knew. Whatever it was, however, one thing always happened. The plantation of Captain Pierce was visited where whisky and cigars were freely set out and drunkenness inevitably followed.

On the date mentioned Earl brought in eleven prisoners. Whether because of luck or something else in those days he obtained more information and captured more prisoners than all the other officers of the regiment combined, and this too without being obliged to visit Captain Pierce.

On December 6, 1863 Sergeant O'Connor, Henry Burton, Luther Struthers, and myself of Company C were with Earl. There were twenty-three of us in all in the party, a larger number than common. Starting at dark, we crossed the Amite River at Benton Ferry, took a southeast course for a mile or two, then began picking up a man or two at every house. They were members of the Ninth Louisiana Battalion and had been enlisted in that neighborhood. Among the fourteen men captured was their captain, whom Earl placed in charge of a couple of recruits. I had lost my hat in the darkness and had been in the Captain's house to get another. As I came out I noticed how familiarly the captain was talking with his guards, and that his horse was very uneasy. I whispered to one of his guards that he had better look out for I thought his prisoner was planning escape. I had not gone a rod when I heard the clatter of a horse's hoofs and the crack of a revolver. The captain was gone in the darkness.

He had turned his horse in the right direction, given him the spur, and then let him go. Earl told me that in the future he would never allow a prisoner to ride his own horse even if he had to let him have the best horse in the command.

On the night of January 10, Lieutenant Earl with a picked lot of men passed out on the Port Hudson road. The next morning he ran into an ambush near Red Wood Bridge on the Clinton road. The report came into camp that they were all killed or captured. That evening two of Earl's men came in but they could not tell the fate of their comrades. The last they had seen of Earl he was running towards the woods, his horse having been shot when passing over an old field.

George L. Beardsley of Neillsville, Wisconsin, a member of Earl's party, has given me the following account of the fight and subsequent imprisonment. He and H. C. Stafford were in the advance. They captured one man, who made his escape during the night and no doubt informed his comrades of their location on the banks of the Amite River. In the morning they found they were being surrounded by superior numbers and passed over to the east side of the river. On coming to a bridge they found it guarded and thereupon hastened to a ford a half mile below, crossed over, and attempted to reach a ford on the Comite. They were met, however, by 200 men mounted on fresh horses commanded by Lieut. E. B. Golden. A fight of two hours followed when the little band of Federal soldiers surrendered. Lieutenant Golden proposed to hang them as horse thieves but Earl demanded for his men the rights of prisoners of war and Golden did not dare to carry out his threat. The enemy reported a loss of six killed and five wounded in the fight with Earl before his capture. The struggle was a hand-to-

hand conflict with saber and revolver. None of Earl's men was killed or wounded, though several of their horses were killed.

The captured Federals were taken to Cahaba prison. On the way there Earl made his escape but was retaken by the aid of bloodhounds. At length on the night of April 28 Earl and Stafford reached the Union lines, having made their way out to Pensacola, Florida. They had escaped four times and had been retaken all but the last time by the use of bloodhounds. No wonder, in view of this experience, that Earl would stop in a chase at any time to shoot one of them.

On the evening of May 2, 1864 Lionel A. Sheldon, Colonel of the Forty-second Ohio Infantry, in command of his own regiment, the Eighteenth New York Battery, and the Fourth Wisconsin Cavalry marched out to Red Wood Bridge over Red Wood Creek on the Clinton road and bivouaced for the night. Here Lieutenant Earl was ordered to select twenty men to act as scouts the following day. Fyfe, Hamlin, Walsh, and myself were taken from Company C. The party was known as the "Awkward Squad." At early dawn we got under way, Hamlin flanking on the left and I on the right. We had hard work to keep abreast through the thick growth of timber, underbrush, and muscadine vines. About two miles were passed when we ran onto a cavalry picket, coming upon them so suddenly that the lieutenant in command and two of his men ran, leaving behind them their boots, arms, and two horses.

We followed them a couple of miles over an open field and into a growth of young pines when a section of artillery opened fire on us. We fell back over the brow of a hill and I was sent out to the right to see that we were not flanked. After sitting on my horse a few moments,

peeking through the dead weeds that covered the brow of the hill and shielded me from view, I heard a body of infantry advancing from out the thick growth of young pines. They came out into the open field obliquely in front of me, the right wing only a few rods away. I sat quietly, wishing to see the whole line come out so as to be able to judge of their numbers. When at length the right flank came out of the pines so that I could see their numbers the left flank was not over a hundred feet from me. Up to this time the weeds had screened me but the moment my horse moved the Confederates saw me and, running to the brow of the hill, commenced firing at me while my horse bounded off at an angle to the right. Though over a hundred shots were fired at me neither my horse nor myself was hit. In our flight my horse leaped a fence and a gulch not less than eight feet deep and twelve feet wide.

About the time I got back to the "Awkward Squad" the violent barking of dogs was heard off to our left. Lieutenant Earl told me to see what it meant. On going out into the pine woods thirty or forty rods I ran onto a newly made trail of some 200 or more cavalry and returning informed Earl that about that number had passed to our rear. In the meantime the Fourth Wisconsin Cavalry had come up, Colonel Boardman in command. He ordered Captain Wooster of Company E and Lieutenant Knowles of Company G to go with Earl and his "Awkward Squad" and follow them up. We four of Company C in advance followed the trail single file through the woods. We had not gone far when by lying forward I could see under the limbs of the trees the legs of a gray horse returning on the trail. I had my revolver in my hand but seeing that we were discovered, when the rider was still too far for me to use it I put it up and took a shot with my carbine at

the man's thighs, aiming low so as to be sure to hit him or his horse. The moment I fired my horse sprang forward and his horse reared up and fell backward, the man sliding off just as I got to his side. He handed me his revolver, belt, and gauntlet gloves but I told him to keep the gloves. His saber being strapped to his saddle had fallen under his horse. Just then Earl came up. When the prisoner looked up into the Lieutenant's face he turned pale and said, "For God's sake, Earl, don't kill me." Earl replied, "Lieutenant Golden, brave men treat prisoners like brothers." Shortly afterward I asked Earl what the Lieutenant meant. "When that man had me a prisoner a few months ago," he replied, "he took the boots from my feet and marched me barefoot a hundred miles or more."

The prisoner was put in charge of a member of Company E who led him beside his horse, holding him by the sleeve. This was all right as long as we continued the walk. We soon came to a clearing, one part of which was fenced off, and we had not advanced far when we saw the body of cavalry coming around the corner of the fenced field. They formed two lines facing us, either of which was as long as one we could make and but short rifle range away. We four in advance halted until the command came up. No order being given to form line, Lieutenant Earl said to Captain Wooster, the ranking officer, "Captain, what are you going to do?" He replied, "I do not know what is best." Some of the men then called out, "Let us form line and charge them." Lieutenant Knowles was asked if he thought it best to charge them. With an oath he answered in the negative. Still we sat there two abreast when Earl said, "They are preparing to charge us. Don't let them strike us in this form." The command was then given, "Left front into

line," but still we sat inactive. More of the men called out, "Let us charge them," when finally the command was given "Twos left, gallop, march." Off toward the woods we went, the enemy after us. We who had been in advance were now in the rear. Word was passed along to form when we should reach the woods. The "Awkward Squad" stopped but not the two companies. We had only started for the woods when the man with the prisoner fell to the rear and the pursuing enemy called out "Surrender that man! Surrender that man!" A few of us put ourselves in the extreme rear and answered their demands with our revolvers. They kept up a rapid fusillade but fired over us not daring to aim low for fear of hitting their own man. They halted before they reached the woods and doubtless returned to their command by the way they came.

On our reaching our command it moved forward driving the enemy back across Olive Branch, by Olive Branch church, and soon fell back to a thick wood that bordered both sides of the Comite River. After a short stand here they crossed the stream, the wood screening their movements. In the meantime our cavalry resumed the advance. On entering the timber the road took a sharp turn to the right down stream. The Fourth Wisconsin Cavalry had just entered the woods, marching by fours, when Colonel Boardman halted them, remarking to his orderly, "I will go forward and see how the road runs." The orderly, George H. Hill of my company, remonstrated with him telling him the enemy must be close by, but it was of no avail. He went forward to where the bridge had been burned and rode down to the water's edge. The enemy, in line in the woods on the opposite side of the river, fired and he fell from his horse, pierced by several balls.

At this juncture General Sheldon rode up and asked Lieutenant Earl if he knew of another ford. Earl replied that there was one about a half a mile below, and he was ordered to see if it was guarded. We hastened to a little-traveled road that crossed it and followed it through an open magnolia grove to the water's edge. On the opposite side was a field with an old rail fence overgrown with berry bushes and an opening only wide enough for the road to pass through. As Morris Fyfe and I were entering the stream with our horses a line of muskets was thrust through the fence in our faces. One shot pierced Fyfe's breast. We turned to retreat, while the "Awkward Squad" fell back out of range. I held Fyfe on his horse while we went back on a walk with the shots flying thick around us striking the trees on all sides. A musket ball was taken from Fyfe's back but not withstanding this he lived to farm in Iowa for many years. Upon Earl's reporting the lower ford guarded the command started on the return to Baton Rouge, the "Awkward Squad" again taking the advance. The Colt's naval revolver and officer's sword belt taken from Lieutenant Golden were given me to keep as trophies. My son, Lieut. H. W. Culver, still has them.

On the return of General Banks from his disastrous Red River campaign he authorized Earl to enlist a full company of men, preferably from his own regiment and those whose fitness he had tested for the service in question. Only part of the regiment had veteranized. From it he was to secure as many men as possible. He came to me at once and offered me the first lieutenancy in the company if I would join him. I had not been home, however, in the three years of my service and, besides, such exaggerated stories had been written home of what I had been doing that my people had gained the impres-

sion that I was reckless. I therefore declined the offer.

General Banks was now relieved by Gen. E. R. S. Canby, who was given the command not only of the Department of the Gulf but also that of the West Mississippi which included Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, and Texas. He proceeded in an order of June 8, 1864 to authorize the organization of a corps of scouts, of which Earl was to be the commander. The men were to be subject to military discipline and were to receive from $40 per month upward, depending upon the character of the services rendered by them. Later more detailed instructions were given Earl governing such things as the drawing of supplies, the confiscation of goods, and the rendering reports.

Over 100 men offered their services for the new service, only forty of whom were accepted by Earl. All but one were from the Fourth Wisconsin, some of whom having reënlisted were given furloughs to enable them to serve in the scouts. The one man chosen from outside the ranks of the Fourth Wisconsin was Pat Daugherty who lived out back of Baton Rouge and who on several occasions had served as a guide for Earl. All of the men had been selected by Earl on the basis of his prior acquaintance with them. He once told me he would rather have a small body of men whom he had tried and upon whom he could depend than a larger number whose qualifications he did not know. With a small number he could move more quickly and could capture small bodies of the enemy and get out of the way of larger forces more readily. Information furnished by his spies was acted upon by him with his body of uniformed men. Each of them when fully armed was a small walking arsenal carrying a Spencer carbine, two Remington revolvers, and a saber, and some of them a pocket revolver in addition.

On June 13 we landed from the Sallie Robinson at Natchez. Dressed in citizens' clothes we passed around among the people and quietly reconnoitered our own picket lines which we found very open. For instance, a road that skirted along the river under the bluff below the city had not a picket on it. A regiment could have been marched into Natchez under the hill without being detected. Gullies that entered the city in between the roads were unguarded and could easily have been followed into the city. As a result of Earl's report General Canby quietly sent one of his officers to investigate conditions at Natchez. His report confirmed what Earl had said about the slackness of the pickets, and in a few days Earl received a note from General Canby congratulating him on the work he was doing.

Natchez stands on a peninsula. Above the city St. Catherines Bayou approaches the Mississippi to within a half mile or so, then bears off to the east, then more directly to the south, and then to the west and enters the river below the city. Every road save one, the Summit Road, that enters the city crosses St. Catherines Bayou. Dressed in citizens' clothes, with revolvers under our linen dusters and a map on tissue paper showing the stream and all the roads, Charles Baker and I began an inspection of the bridges and fords as well as the bypaths crossing the St. Catherines. After the first day Baker left. I was three days at the work as many of the bridges were in bad condition. Some of the fords were unsafe because of quicksand, and the paths were many and some of them blind. Everything was shown on our tissue-paper maps. I need not say that we needed to be very careful for we often wanted to leave the city as secretly as possible and might have found it necessary to return

in some haste. As yet we were without horses and four of our number were sent to Vicksburg to get a supply. When they arrived, there were none to be had and they were sent on to St. Louis. There they were detained some days. There were still further delays in getting arms and other equipment so that about six weeks passed before we had really begun our work. In the meantime those of us whose term of enlistment had expired went to New Orleans where we settled up with the government and received our discharge. On our return to Natchez we were at last ready for earnest work.

Late on the night of August 8 we passed out on the Palestine road on our first scout. We stopped in an old stable until early morning, when we were guided by a negro through the woods and fields to a large, deserted house, back of which was an old orchard. Here we found fifteen horses, some of them saddled and bridled showing that their former masters had just disappeared. I exchanged my horse for one that I thought much better. A few minutes later on riding him up to a near-by house a young lady told me that he belonged to a Lieutenant Dixon who was in command of the body of men which had just disappeared. My captured mount proved to be a discarded race horse, possessed of a habit of "bucking" which later brought me to grief.

About nine o'clock on the evening of August 13 we left the city by the Woodville road. When out about five miles we met an old gentleman in a carriage, and a few rods farther on six or eight Confederate cavalrymen. We exchanged shots with them, two of our horses being hit with buckshot, when the enemy ran. We followed them a short distance and met two wagonloads of cotton, drawn by eight yoke of oxen, which we took back to town

with us. The old gentleman, whose name was Johnson, said he had bought the cotton for Natchez parties, paying for it with Confederate money.

A report which had come to headquarters that the Confederates were crossing torpedoes at Tunica Bend was turned over to Lieutenant Earl to investigate. He sent out three men with orders to descend the river as far as Bayou Sara unless they should find enough to warrant reporting before reaching that point. He also dispatched a spy to the camp of Major Ravana, reported to be in charge of the Confederate submarine corps, to learn the location of the camp, its strength, and, if possible, the Major's intentions. The spy who did duty on this and on other occasions, was, I believe, Jennie O'Niel, a Mississippi girl whom Earl afterwards married. She is still living in Minneapolis, from which place I received a letter from her in April, 1916. Earl reported to General Canby that relying on sources in which he had the utmost confidence he did not think the whole force of Confederates from the Yazoo to Baton Rouge numbered over 1,500 men; and that the greater part of Gen. Wirt Adams' force as well as about 10,000 from Gen. Kirby Smith's command had been sent to join General Forrest who was on his way to Atlanta.

On August 29, 1864 it was reported that Shields, who lived in a large square brick house just outside our lines, had been receiving arms and ammunition and passing them over to our enemies. Four of our men were sent out to confiscate the arms provided any should be found. Shields refused either to deliver them or to let the men in to see for themselves, and barricaded himself in the center of his house where the two halls crossed. One of our men returned to report the situation and Earl and a number of men went out to the house. Earl repeated the demand for

the surrender of the arms but still Shields refused. One of our number, Luther Struthers, then attempted to kick in one of the doors at which Earl, Charles Baker, and myself were stationed. I was watching Shields through a side light to the door and Baker was watching at the other side. He called to me to look out as Shields was going to shoot. I thought it a bluff and again placed my face against the glass when a bullet shattered it, grazing my left temple and filling my face with putty and bits of glass. Struthers then broke in the door and at the same time a shot, fired from one of the other doors, cut the old gentleman's suspenders where they cross on the back. Baker drew his revolver and just as he was about to shoot Shields surrendered. Seeing this I struck Baker's revolver and the shot went down through the floor. Captain Shields, a retired army officer, gave as an excuse for his resistance that a short time before another body of men had come and made the same demand as our own, and on being allowed to enter had not looked for arms but had taken a large quantity of silverware, some of which had been entrusted to him by his friends for safe-keeping. He had reported this affair to Adjutant General Thomas who had dined with him while on a tour of inspection down the river, and the General had advised him to defend himself if similar trouble occurred again. If Shields had possessed any arms or ammunition he had rid himself of them before we made our call. He belonged to that class of Confederates who secured exemption from surveillance by keeping open house for our officers.

Learning that a planter some twelve miles out on the Woodville road had four fine four-year-old colts that had never even been halterbroke, a roan mare, and three chestnut geldings, we went after them, and got them into a corral by the side of the road. While the others went in

to capture them I sat on my horse, the one captured from Lieutenant Dixon, in order to head off any of them that might jump the fence. One did jump over and started down the road. I gave chase and soon came along side of him, when a lively race began. Not knowing that my horse had any tricks I leaned forward to give him all the help I could, when suddenly he stopped with back humped up and head down, while I pitched over his head carrying the reins and bit with me. I struck on my back and rolled over several times before I stopped. I was badly stunned, and received an injury to my spine from which I am still a sufferer. I had to be taken to Natchez in a cart, but three days later I was out again, and did not give up during the remainder of the time I remained with the corps.

On September 5, 1864 Lieutenant Earl was ordered to New Orleans. Being tired of remaining in quarters we prevailed upon Allen James to take us out for a little recreation. Crossing over from Washington through fields and woods on our way to the Pine Ridge road we came upon a body of ten cavalrymen in a lot in front of a house. Hotly pursued by us, they ran for the gate that opened into the lot by the house. A young lady ran down from the porch, grabbed the gate, and held it open for them despite our firing, and then slammed the gate shut against us. We got through, however, in time to capture one man, one mule, and four horses.

While we were out on this expedition Earl returned from New Orleans bringing the steamboat, Ida May. The boat was neither large nor fast. It had staterooms for sixty persons and quarters for an equal number of horses. Since we needed to frequent bayous a steamer of this size was well adapted to our service.

On September 12, 1864 we started at midnight on our first scout on the Ida May. Arriving at St. Joe, Louisiana,

at ten o'clock the next morning, we hurriedly disembarked, and at once started out on the plank road. We had not gone far when we sighted fifteen cavalrymen ahead of us, and immediately gave chase to them, but after a run of three miles, finding we were steadily losing ground, abandoned the pursuit. We continued following the plank road, however, and soon saw half a mile ahead of us a man wearing a linen duster following a buggy. We at once gave chase and overtook the party, which in addition to the man on foot, consisted of a negro driver and a good-looking woman about 30 years of age. In the back of the buggy there was a trunk. We took the party to a near-by house and searched all three, as well as the trunk. In the latter we found a memorandum containing information of great importance concerning the movements of the Confederate forces. It was this information which gave the first hint of "Pap Thomas" Price's intended raid into Missouri, thus enabling our army to be in readiness to meet him when he undertook the raid a short time afterward. The lady had in her trunk a flask of wine from which she and a few of the men drank to the sentiment proposed by her, that the war might soon cease and that the North and the South might ever live in peace. We learned later, after we had let her go, that she was a spy, possibly the noted Confederate spy, Belle Boyd.

On our return to the boat we found that the men left with her had captured two Confederates. With our captives we ran up to Vicksburg, and arrived there the next morning. We had not been there since July, 1862 and then had seen the place only from the opposite side of the river. We took this occasion, therefore, to inspect the city and the fortifications. Our steamer, too, was in need of some repairs, and while they were being made we were not idle. The day after our arrival, September 16, we

crossed the river and proceeded to Richmond, or rather to where Richmond had been before General Grant's army had passed that way nearly a year and a half before. Now only blackened chimneys stood where the houses formerly had been, and rank weeds had taken the place of growing crops. All was desolation. On our way Billy Hine got off his horse and picked up a half-starved coon remarking, "Poor thing I will give you a lift to where there is something for you to eat. General Grant has so skinned the country that not even a coon can live in it."

We came at length to a large plantation, one on which the buildings had been left standing. Among them was a large sugar-house on which General Grant's signal corps had erected a lookout station. We stopped at this house to get our dinner but the woman of the house said she had nothing to give us. As we came along we had seen some cows in the pasture and chickens around the house. Some of the latter we killed and gave to the negro woman to dress and fry and told her to bake us some cornbread. Our dinner was soon on the table and a little search revealed a good supply of rich milk and plenty of butter.

When we had finished the meal Lieutenant Earl told me to make a search of the house for contraband goods. The woman of the house with her bunch of keys opened room after room until she had shown me all but one of the eleven rooms of the house. On coming to this one she declined to open it saying, "There is nothing in this room that you need to see." I told her that this was the room I must see. She replied, "I will not open it." I told her that then I would be under the necessity of opening it myself. Without further words she opened it. It was a room about sixteen feet square. On three sides extending from the floor to the ceiling were wide shelves filled with United States medical stores. As I came out of the room

the woman remarked that probably I would like to know by what authority she had these goods in her possession. I replied that I certainly would. She then presented an itemized bill of them and a permit to take them outside our lines, signed by a prominent-major general of the United States then commanding that district. I called Lieutenant Earl to inspect the room with its contents and to examine the bill and permit. After looking them over he asked if I had searched the outside premises. I replied that I had not. "Do so," he replied. The house was a large, one-story structure elevated six or seven feet from the ground on piles as a protection from floods caused by the breaking of the levees. I found it tightly boarded, however, down to the ground, and not an opening in it on any side. There was one place, however, where nails had been driven recently. With an ax I pried the boards off and made an opening which revealed the whole basement filled with barrels of pork and beef standing on end two barrels deep. For these, also, the woman showed an itemized bill and permit from the same major-general.

We had no means of transportation, and were unable even to take the medical stores. Nothing could be done but report the find to General Canby, which I am quite sure was done, though I find no record of it in the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*. After the search of the premises we went east to the river, reaching it at New Carthage. From this place we followed up the left bank of the river to a point opposite Vicksburg. On our way we made a dash on a house in which we were told there were two guerillas, Winslow and Brownlow by name. They escaped, but were compelled to leave horses and arms in our hands.

Our boat being repaired we ran down the river on the evening of September 18 and landed five miles above St.

Joe. From here we made a dash down through the village, and out on the plank road to a Mr. Powell's where we captured three men. Powell was taken prisoner, for we learned he engaged in receiving Confederate mail and sending it across the river when opportunity offered. At his house we found a large mail on its way east. Six miles farther on we captured another man with three horses. Four men were now sent back to St. Joe with the prisoners, mail, and captured horses, the Ida May having followed us down to this place. At this point eleven miles out we left the plank road and skirted along the back of the plantations on the north side of the road. Earl had learned that a body of twenty-five men were camped in this vicinity on their way in to be ferried across the river at St. Joe. In the gray of the morning we saw a camp fire in front of a house on the opposite side of the road. A small gate opened from the road into the yard where the men were preparing their breakfasts. I signaled Lieutenant Earl and Fenlason and I made a dash through the gate and between the men and the porch, on which we saw a stack of guns. They were taken entirely by surprise and all surrendered before any of our men entered the yard. One man started to run but a shot through the crown of his hat brought him back. They were mechanics on their way east and had only the one stack of arms.

It had been raining and we saw that a wagon train had passed by and was between us and the river. We destroyed the few arms found and with sabers strapped to our saddles started to follow them. We had not gone more than a mile when we heard the darky drivers and the "chuck" of the wagons. After signaling Earl we put spurs to our horses and turning a bend in the road came upon a cavalryman riding unconcernedly behind the rear wagon. On turning his head he found himself looking into the muzzle

of a revolver. Upon being ordered to throw down his arms, he immediately complied. One after another five more men were treated in the same way. The results of our morning's work were: thirty-five men, nine horses, thirty-six mules and harnesses, six wagons, about nine tons of wool, and a valuable mail. After arriving at St. Joe we captured a four-wheeled truck on which was loaded a ferryboat and a skiff. They had backed the truck and its load into the brush, and we found and burned them. The wool was on its way from Texas to Georgia to be manufactured into uniforms for the Confederate soldiers.

On September 24 we ran down to Port Hudson, where we left the Ida May to meet us at Baton Rouge. On our way down we captured one man and five horses. The next day we visited our regiment at Baton Rouge and found the Ida May waiting for us. While at Baton Rouge we drew twenty Sharps carbines, twenty revolvers, twenty sabers, and twenty saddles. For the first time our corps was fully equipped. As for horses we had more than supplied ourselves from those captured from the enemy. On our return trip to Natchez we had fine practice in the use of our new arms, the many alligators sunning themselves along the banks of the river affording us fine targets.

On the morning of September 28 we landed at Hard Times on the opposite side of the river from Grand Gulf. Proceeding inland ten or twelve miles we captured a wagon-load of clothing on its way into the Confederacy. Then we returned to our boat and ran up to Point Pleasant, four miles from Douglass' Landing, from which Earl learned the goods had been taken, and where Douglass lived. We found his house strongly barricaded with bales of cotton, and himself well supplied with arms. Since

it was known that he had a supply of goods constantly on hand he was often attacked by robbers. Only the day before, five of them had made a raid on him, and three of their number still lay dead in his yard. At his house we found 1,500 yards of cloth, much of it of very fine quality, and much other contraband goods. The next morning we took Douglass and his family with all the goods with us. When we got to Buckner's Landing, where we met the Ida May we found that the men left with the boat had captured a small steamer, belonging to Douglass, called the Buffalo. With it he was doing a fine business. He had itemized bills and permits for all these goods from the commander at Vicksburg. No wonder large industries were built up in the years that followed the war by some of our officers who thought more of gaining dollars than of gaining victories over our enemies.

Our secret service was not confined strictly to military affairs. Since coming to Natchez Earl had kept detectives busy. One line of investigation led to the location near Fort Adams of 607 bales of cotton which were piled up on the bank of the river and secreted by scrub oaks. When the time was ripe an Illinois regiment was sent with a steamer to bring the cotton to Natchez. This capture alone was worth over $300,000.

On the morning of September 30 we joined the command of Colonel Osband, a brigade of cavalry, one regiment of which was colored. Marching rapidly out to Port Gibson, we fed our horses and took dinner. Our scouts were stationed around a yard in which was a very good house. While our horses were eating, two young ladies came out of the house and began to converse with us. They asked us if we knew "General Earl" and his men. We replied that we had frequently met them and sometimes had been associated with them. They then

expressed a great desire to see "General Earl." Lieutenant Earl being only a few steps away was called and given an introduction to them. They could hardly believe that we were telling the truth. One of the ladies was the daughter of General Van Dorn and the other, the sister of Colonel Jenkins, Gen. Joe Wheeler's adjutant-general.

We camped a mile east of Port Gibson with Colonel Osband's command and breakfasted at a Mr. Colman's, a prominent Port Gibson lawyer. We then marched out on the Fayette road, turned again, and went to Rodney. There we found a steamer with a regiment of colored infantry, and our own steamer was at the dock. A good Union family entertained us for both supper and breakfast, and upon leaving we paid them well for their hospitality.

For some reason when we started out on October 2, we did not take the advance. At the entrance of a long, covered bridge the advance guard was fired on and fell back and we took their place. In the meantime the enemy disappeared. Before reaching Fayette our scouts had gathered up a dozen horses, for one of which I exchanged my own. On nearing the village and looking down its main street we saw about fifty horses, fully equipped, tied along the sides of the street, while their riders were just coming out of church. I signaled Earl, who motioned us forward. Without further urging Fenlason and I charged them, while Earl followed with the corps. Not having time to mount before we were among them they dodged behind buildings and commenced firing.

Turning into the street from the left a man, dressed in gray, in an open carriage drawn by two horses dashed furiously out of the village. Fenlason and I, being in advance of the others, gave chase. We knew there was a body of cavalry encamped out that way and thinking

it probable the fugitive was in command of it we wanted to capture him. Seeing us coming, the vidette fired and ran. After passing the vidette's post we overtook the man in the buggy and turning him around hurried him back. When we came near the village we slackened our pace and searched the two valises he had. In one of them we found his linen on one side, and rolls of greenbacks on the other, while the other valise was entirely filled with greenbacks. The man was a Confederate cotton agent, and was prepared to pay for the 607 bales of cotton spoken of above. We handed him over to Lieutenant Earl who delivered him to Colonel Osband's provost marshal.

A number of men and horses were captured by Earl before Colonel Osband and his command came up. It is necessary to say here that the men of our corps took commands from no one but Lieutenant Earl, and he received his orders from General Canby only. Not being satisfied with the conduct of Colonel Osband, who had partaken too freely of rum, Earl left him at Fayette and returned to Natchez. We reached our quarters at ten o'clock in the evening. Colonel Osband came in with his command the next forenoon, having had quite a skirmish with the body of soldiers, encamped outside of Fayette, which the captured cotton agent had sought to join.

On the morning of October 5 we went to Kingston. We made a dash through the village but found no enemy there. Proceeding on, we searched the house of a Mr. Farrer. On coming out of the house into the road we came up behind three men to whom we gave chase. They entered a wood close by, leaving their horses and a double-barreled shotgun. Colonel Powers of the Confederate army was in the vicinity. Small bodies of his men often showed themselves but as often got out of the way. At

the house of a Mr. Bowers we found a quantity of contraband goods, consisting of leather and cloth, which Lieutenant Earl ordered to be taken out and burned. While we were there a squad of Confederate cavalry put in an appearance and as quickly disappeared. I was a good deal troubled through the day over what seemed to me to be recklessness on the part of Lieutenant Earl; on one occasion I said as much to him, but he only laughed at me. We did not stop anywhere to get dinner but kept on the alert all day. Just before dark we returned a couple of miles towards Natchez and stopped at a house for supper. While our meal was being prepared our picket reported the approach of the enemy. We mounted and rode on toward Natchez for some distance when we turned into another house where we had supper. While eating Lieutenant Earl said: "Boys I am disappointed in you. None of you knew the situation today any better than Culver, yet no one but he showed any concern. Had the situation been as it seemed, we were in a most critical condition. Other forces of ours were out and we were to draw the enemy on or attract their attention while our forces should get in their rear. They did not bite at the bait."

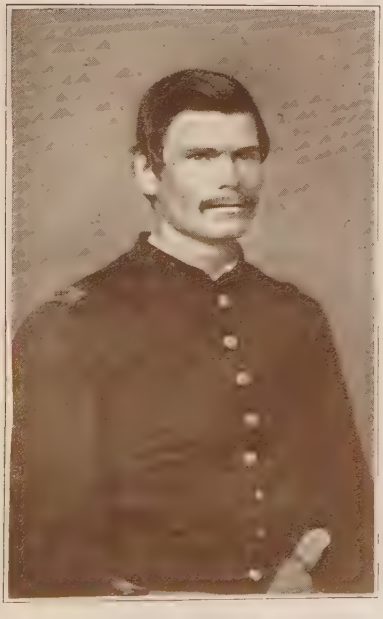
On the evening of October 6 we again went on board our boat. In the morning we landed at Waterproof, and rode rapidly out into the country a few miles, where we had heard some Confederates were encamped. Not finding them, we returned to our boat and ran up to the plantation of Gustavus Bass. We knew him to be a spy on our movements, using the cupola of his house for a lookout and when our steamer was in sight, giving warning to any Confederates that might be approaching the river to be ferried across. Learning that he had some horses hid out in the woods in charge of some negroes, Lieutenant Earl had a chicken coop set on fire, thinking the negroes

would suppose one of their cabins was burning and so would come out of the woods. The maneuver had the desired effect and the horses were brought out. We picketed the levee road for a distance of six miles up and down the river, hoping to intercept a body of the enemy which we knew to be in that vicinity. Not meeting any, however, we boarded the Ida May and ran down the river several miles. Towards morning with all lights out, we ran back up the river to a point opposite Bruinsburg, Mississippi. Here we landed before daylight and rode rapidly down to St. Joe and out on the plank road.

As usual, Charles W. Fenlason was my companion on the advance. He was cautious and brave, quick to see, and ready to act. About eight miles out of town on emerging from a wood into an open field, we saw coming our way but a few rods in advance a very tall man on a short-legged, black pony. The man was apparently not looking for trouble. He seemed to awake suddenly and started off to our left as fast as his pony could carry him. I gave chase, while Fenlason, seeing the top of an ambulance coming over a rise of ground in the road ahead, started for it, closely followed by the scouts. My man ran to a fence, jumped from his pony, and sprang for it. Just as he was stretched out full length on top of the fence I fired at him with my revolver. Landing on his feet on the other side, his hands on his stomach, he cried out, "For God's sake don't shoot again!" As I rode up to the fence he said, "You have shot me through the bowels." I saw that the top rail was hit and knew that both rail and bowels could not be hit by the same ball. "You are not hurt," I said, "Only a sliver has hit you." He looked at the rail, then at his stomach, and said, "I thank God. I was sure I had got my last." He then said, "Where did you come from? You went down the river last night."

NEWTON H. CULVER

CHARLES W. FENLASON



ISAAC N. EARL

CHARLES BAKER

I asked him who he thought we were. "Don't you suppose I know who you are?" he answered, "You are Earl's scouts."

When I got back to the road with him, I found that Earl had captured two majors, one captain, two enlisted men, and the ambulance, which contained about six bushels of mail and over a million dollars of Confederate money, besides all the flags captured from General Banks up Red River and all that had been captured from us in western Louisiana since our taking of New Orleans.

Having information that a larger Confederate force was but a short distance away, Earl ordered a retreat to the boat. On our arrival at Natchez, Lieutenant Earl, Serg. Edward Harris, myself, and six of the men for guards started for New Orleans with our prisoners.

On Sunday, October 9, we stopped at Baton Rouge, where our regiment was encamped, in order to visit our comrades. Lieutenant Earl and Sergeant Harris with four of the men went first, leaving me with the other two to guard our prisoners. They had not been gone long when Major General Herron's superintendent of transportation came aboard and asked the captain of the boat who was in charge. Upon being referred to me, he said that he wanted to take the boat to ferry a regiment across the river from West Baton Rouge. I told him that Lieutenant Earl was up town and that I was not at liberty to let the boat be moved without his order. The major replied with some heat that it was the order of General Herron who was a bigger man than Earl. I replied that I was sorry to deny General Herron's authority, and observed that if he saw fit I supposed he could place me under arrest when my authority would end, and he could then do as he liked. He concluded, however, to wait for Lieutenant Earl's return. After an hour or so

Earl returned and I gave him an introduction to the major, who told him of my refusal to allow the boat to be moved. Earl told him I had done right but that if he would furnish what guards I wanted he could have the use of the boat. Then turning to me he said: "Place guards to keep all, including officers, on the lower deck." The guards were accordingly furnished and placed. The regiment was ferried across the river, the major accompanying us in the best of humor. We then proceeded on our way, reaching New Orleans at ten o'clock the next day. After taking our captives to prison we took the flags to General Canby's office. Here Lieutenant Earl put the Brashier City Garrison flag into my hands saying, "It is your due to hand this flag to General Canby."

The Ida May was pronounced in need of repairs. We were not able to get another steamer at once and so continued to keep our quarters on the Ida May for two weeks when the Starlight was assigned to us, and we started on our return. We stopped at Baton Rouge on the way, where I last met the comrades of the Fourth Wisconsin. On October 26 we arrived at Natchez, and the next day Lieutenant Earl gave me my discharge. I was under contract to serve four months, and had served three weeks longer than this. Earl tried to persuade me to remain, urging among other things, that if I did not he would take the advance himself. This he did and received the fatal shot a month and two days later while entering Fayette, Mississippi, at night with the advance of the corps.[1]

[1] The most connected account I have of the death of Earl is contained in a letter written to me from Natchez, Dec. 1, 1864, by Charles Baker. It states, in substance that Earl with the scouts and about fifteen Mississippi cavalrymen embarked on the Colonel Cowles on November 29. After ascending the river some fifteen miles the party landed and set out for Fayette, which was reached some time after dark. The men passed quietly through the town, not intending

I will now give from my memoranda het names of the members of the corps:

Noncommissioned Officers

Allen James, 1st Sergeant
L. E. Hatch, Commission Sergeant
E. A. Harris, 2nd Sergeant
Byron Kenyon, 3rd Sergeant
N. H. Culver, 1st Corporal
C. W. Fenlason, 2nd Corporal
Milan Grayham, 3rd Corporal

Privates

Charles Baker, Company I, Fourth Wisconsin Cavalry
L. B. Bennett, Company I, Fourth Wisconsin Cavalry
Spencer Bills, Company H, Fourth Wisconsin Cavalry
Pat Daugherty, a citizen of Louisiana

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to stop. Upon approaching the hotel, however, two or three shots rang out. Major Earl was evidently the target for one shot took effect in the jaw, one in the breast, and a third in the right wrist. He was taken to the house of Dr. Duncan, who advised that it would be fatal to attempt his removal to Natchez. Major Earl advised his men to leave him, which was done, and Natchez was reached at daylight, November 30. A flag of truce was sent out, accompanied by two surgeons and Earl's wife, arriving at Fayette in the forenoon of December 1. They were not allowed to see Earl, but were assured by the doctor attending him that he was being well cared for and his wounds were not necessarily mortal. Later information proved that he was already dead.

Lieutenant Paddock, an old acquaintance of Earl in Wisconsin, was in command of the Confederate scouts, and it was by one of his men that the fatal shots were fired. He promised to inform the authorities at Natchez of any serious change in Earl's condition. They were never notified of his death, and it has been believed generally by his associates that he was foully dealt with by his captors.

Four years ago, however, as the result of an advertisement which I placed in a Natchez paper, I received several letters from Thomas G. Dicks, an ex-Confederate scout. When Earl's command entered Fayette, he stated, he was sitting in front of the hotel beside Serg. James Smith. Smith ordered the lights extinguished, and when the Federal advance came within forty yards he fired one shot from a double-barreled gun loaded with one ball and nine buckshot. Dicks indignantly resented the charge that Earl was poisoned or ill treated in any way. He stated further that Earl was buried at Red Lick church, and that after the war Mrs. Earl came for the body and removed it to her home in Minneapolis.

George Hays, Company G, Fourth Wisconsin Cavalry
William S. Hine, Company I, Fourth Wisconsin Cavalry
William Kent, Company G, Fourth Wisconsin Cavalry
Samuel Jewell, Company G, Fourth Wisconsin Cavalry
Hiram Netherfield, a citizen of Missouri
Nelson Porter, Company G, Fourth Wisconsin Cavalry
Samuel Porter, a citizen of Missouri
— McLachlin, a citizen of Mississippi
Jacob Ripley, Company F, Fourth Wisconsin Cavalry
Archibald Rowan, Company I, Fourth Wisconsin Cavalry
Andrew Ryan, Company G, Fourth Wisconsin Cavalry
Luther Struthers, Company C, Fourth Wisconsin Cavalry
— Simpson, Second Wisconsin Cavalry
Nicholas Wait, Company K, Fourth Wisconsin Cavalry
Frank Wallace, Second Wisconsin Cavalry
Nathaniel J. White, Fourth Wisconsin Cavalry

The original plan was to form three sections of which Henry C. Stafford was to have commanded the Second and P. Daugherty the Third. They were never formed and both Stafford and Daugherty acted as privates.

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